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**Greek as an additional language (GAL) school students in Cyprus in late modernity
An ethnographic study of three parallel intensive Greek language classes in two
Greek-Cypriot state primary schools**

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**Greek as an additional language (GAL) school
students in Cyprus in late modernity:**

**An ethnographic study of three parallel intensive Greek
language classes in two Greek-Cypriot state primary
schools**

Ioanna Charalambous

**A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
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Στους γονείς μου...

Abstract

This thesis is an ethnographic study investigating the misplacement of students in parallel intensive Greek language classes in Greek-Cypriot primary schools. In 2008, the Cyprus Ministry of Education issued a policy document about the setting up of classes for migrant students to be given intensive instruction in the Greek language in Greek-Cypriot state primary schools, and since then, parallel classes have been offered in schools. However, the establishment of the parallel classes was prompted by the need to respond to EU discourses about human rights for minorities and not by a change in the Hellenocentric ideology that dominates the Greek-Cypriot educational system. The fact that the policy for parallel classes was developed as something extra to regular school life and on the margins of the mainstream reveals that the Hellenocentric character of the curriculum was left untouched. This project focuses on three parallel classes in two primary schools and draws on data collected during fieldwork that lasted five months. The focal children had a migrant background but either total or considerable experience of living within Greek-Cypriot society and competence in everyday spoken Greek-Cypriot dialect; yet, they had been selected for parallel intensive Greek language tuition away from their mainstream class. Taking into account the dominant Hellenocentric ideology in the Greek-Cypriot educational system and with anti-essentialist cultural studies as the theoretical stance, the thesis explores how this phenomenon came about. The empirical investigation shows that children were misplaced because Hellenocentric ideology cannot envisage people who do not have Greek-Cypriot parents and a Greek-only orientation to language as anything else but 'the other'. The thesis concludes that new approaches are necessary in the era of the new globalisation in which new patterns of language and superdiversity are constantly emerging.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

As a result of recent human mobility, notably in the form of economic migration, in many educational systems all over the world, monolingual and monocultural students comprise the minority rather than the majority (Cummins and Schecter, 2003). In this changing world, the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus¹ could not remain unaffected. The increased immigration over the past two decades has transformed the Greek-Cypriot community into an increasingly linguistically, ethnically and culturally diverse society and this, as Tsiplakou and Georgi (2008) state, has unsurprisingly led to a sudden growth of the number of children who have a home language other than Greek among the student population.

The Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) has responded to the increasing number of pupils who have a home language other than Greek. In 2008, the MEC issued a policy document about the setting up of classes for these students to receive intensive instruction in the Greek language parallel to the mainstream curriculum in Greek-Cypriot state primary schools, and since then, parallel classes have been offered in schools. However, the establishment of these classes was prompted by the need to respond to EU discourses about human rights for minorities and not by a change in the Hellenocentric ideology that dominates the Greek-Cypriot educational system. The fact that the policy for parallel classes was developed as something extra to regular school life and on the margins of the mainstream reveals that the Hellenocentric character of the curriculum was left untouched.

Taking into account the dominant Hellenocentric ideology in the Greek-Cypriot educational system, my PhD thesis looks at the enactment of the policy for parallel intensive Greek language learning classes (PIGLLC) inside school institutions. My key interest is the phenomenon of misplacement in these classes of students who have a migrant background but either full or considerable experience of living within Greek-Cypriot society and competence in everyday spoken Greek-Cypriot dialect.

¹ My PhD thesis focuses on the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, that is, the southern part of the island. The Greek-Cypriot community resides in this part of the island. My study concentrates on parallel classes for intensive Greek language teaching in Greek-Cypriot state primary education.

The thesis examines how this phenomenon came about and why it continues by drawing on data collected during fieldwork that lasted five months in three parallel classes in two primary schools. Even though my thesis concentrates on four focal students in particular, I looked at a total of 17 children across four different parallel classes in two schools. The data from the 17 students informs my argument that many of these students were incorrectly placed in these parallel classes. More specifically, 12 children from the parallel classes already spoke Greek at a similar level to other Greek-Cypriot children, as the table in appendix 1 illustrates. The reason I focussed on four specific pupils is so that I could research these individuals more thoroughly. Also, even though I collected data in four parallel classes, I concentrate on three instead of four classes because I was not given access to audio-recordings in one of them and therefore I was unable to analyse the students' linguistic repertoires closely. Nevertheless, the ethnographic and observational data I collected about these children informs my interpretations.

I adopt a theoretical approach to ethnicity and language, which is informed by anti-essentialist and late-modern cultural theory treating ethnicity as an open category as well as acknowledging its complexity and dynamics in contemporary societies. People are also considered as learning language through engagement with a wide range of communities, networks and groups. Furthermore, my thesis draws on ethnographic methods and aspires to contribute to a small body of research applying ethnographic approaches to research on immigrant students in the Greek-Cypriot community.

Deciding to undertake this study

My interest in this topic started when at the age of 21 I found myself part of a new generation of teachers entering the Greek-Cypriot educational system who had to face some difficult questions. During my final year of teacher training, I was expected to teach in a Greek-Cypriot state primary school in Nicosia and I realised that there were immigrant children in this school, but the teachers had not developed a sophisticated response to their presence in the classroom.

This was the first time I had been aware that there were so many such students in Greek-Cypriot schools. When I was a pupil myself in Greek-Cypriot state education

four years before, there were very few immigrant children in my class. Therefore, it came as a surprise to me that in this school there were numerous pupils who had a migrant background. From this situation, I realised that Greek-Cypriot society is undergoing considerable change. The situation appeared to be that immigrant children were positioned in mainstream Greek medium classrooms together with Greek-Cypriot pupils according to their age-level and were expected to follow the national curriculum. At times they were being withdrawn from their mainstream classes to receive one-to-one or very small group support teaching. However, these children were not being sufficiently supported. Some of the concerned teachers in their effort to do something about them were taking materials from grade 1 even if the children were in older school years. Many teachers seemed not to be concerned at all and were doing nothing to help the GAL pupils in addition to saying that they should not be in Cyprus. This situation prompted me to feel the need to do something about these children, so I left my country to come to the UK, an 'old' immigration country, in order to conduct research on this issue.

In relation to the general situation in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and the means by which I came to do this study, a number of research questions emerged:

1. In what way is the MEC's policy concerning parallel classes enacted in specific schools?
2. To what extent are the MEC's directives helpful to head-teachers and teachers?
3. To what extent are children of migrant descent being correctly placed in parallel classes in Greek-Cypriot primary schools?
4. How do they respond both to the MEC's policy and the new conditions of superdiversity?
5. How useful are Hellenocentric approaches to teaching Greek language in the new era of superdiversity currently affecting the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus?

Terminological clarifications

I am now going to unpack the meaning of some terms and explain how they are used in this thesis. Even though this is a concise outline, I believe it is useful for the reader who will come across these terms throughout my thesis.

Community, ethnicity and identity

Although I was born and raised as a Greek-Cypriot, I do not approach the concepts of ‘community’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘identity’ in the same way as they have been used in the dominant Hellenocentric ideology in the Greek-Cypriot community, which imagines Cypriot-Orthodox people as part of the Greek nation of Greece with the same culture, language and religion, as well as with distinct boundaries from other ethnic groups. In 2008, I began an MA in Language, Ethnicity and Education at King’s College London. My masters gave me the opportunity to engage with anti-essentialist and late-modern cultural theory, which determined my view of notions like ‘community’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘identity’. Benedict Anderson (1991) and Ernest Gellner (1983) were influential in my understanding of national communities as social constructions specifically and consciously cultivated, as well as educational systems as an important means of reproducing and perpetuating official values, beliefs and cultural identity. Moreover, Pierre Bourdieu (1991) drew my attention to the significance of the official language of a political unit in regulating and unifying its linguistic practices. His work was crucial for understanding that by teaching the same national standard language to students who do not know it and who also talk other languages or vernaculars, the teacher “is already inclining them quite naturally to see and feel things in the same way; and he works to build the common consciousness of the nation” (ibid.: 49). The association of nation with language means that proficiency in the official language has become the primary tool for inclusion or exclusion to that collective group (May, 2001; Shohamy, 2006).

Concerning the concepts of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic/national identity’, the nationalist imagination treats them as the sum of birthplace, culture, language and religion. The dominant ideology of Hellenocentrism relies on nationalistic perceptions of ethnicity as ‘givens’ of ‘social existence’, and hence, ‘absolute’ (Geertz, 1963: 109). On the contrary, I use in my thesis the concepts of ethnicity and identity in a manner unrestricted to a specific territory, and as “socially and linguistically constructed” (Joseph, 2004: 8). However, I am aware of the fact that although ethnicity and identity are not permanent or innate, there are many people in my country and in other places who understand them as their ‘essential natures’ (Hall, 1992: 293) and

feel a strong need to belong to the Greek-Cypriot group or other ethnic groups in this understanding of the term.

Greek as an Additional Language (GAL)

The MEC has employed the phrase ‘other-language students’ to refer to children of migrant backgrounds, whereas other Greek-Cypriot researchers have used the term ‘Greek as a second language students’. However, I consider both of these terms inadequate. On the one hand, the word ‘other’ in the first term carries negative connotations associated with ‘otherness’, ‘strangeness’, ‘unfamiliarity’, ‘alienness’ and ‘not belonging’. On the other hand, the word ‘second’ in the latter term assumes that Greek is immigrant children’s second language ignoring in this way their many times multilingual repertoires and the fact that Greek might actually be their third or fourth language. Furthermore, to classify these children as ‘Greek as a second language’ speakers does not reflect their use of and orientation towards Greek, specifically Greek-Cypriot dialect (GCD) and Standard Modern Greek (SMG). Following the practice in the UK where ‘English as an additional language’ (EAL) has become the preferred term (Dewey and Leung, 2010), I use in my thesis the term ‘Greek as an additional language’ (GAL) to refer to students of migrant backgrounds in the Greek-Cypriot education avoiding in this way making any presumptions about their linguistic practices. Nevertheless, the terms ‘other-language students’ and ‘Greek as an additional language students’ will be encountered by the reader in extracts from the MEC’s policy texts or heads’ and teachers’ words who participated in my research as well as in quotations from other Greek-Cypriot researchers.

Conclusion

My thesis, then, is an ethnographic study investigating the misplacement of students in parallel intensive Greek classes in Greek-Cypriot state primary schools and the lack of principles underpinning their being placed there. I begin in chapter 1 with setting the thesis in context and with an exploration of the theoretical approach underpinning this work.

PART ONE: SETTING THE CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1

THEORISING ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE IN THE GREEK-CYPRIOT CONTEXT

1.0 Introduction

This chapter is a review of scholarly literature with regards to the historico-ideological setting in which my study is situated. I begin by examining the history of the two communities² in Cyprus from the start of the 20th century dominated by tension and conflicts between them, as well as the traditionally community-based organisation of their educational systems (section 1.1). Subsequently, concentrating back to the Greek-Cypriot community and its educational context, I describe the traditional supremacy of ‘Hellenocentrism’ in the domain of education that sees the Orthodox Christians of the island of Cyprus as members of the Greek nation in Greece with the same culture, language and religion, as well as with distinct boundaries separating them from other ethnic groups (section 1.2). However, this ideology is now being challenged by the recent tumultuous change in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community with the new migration. This change has affected the school system, which increasingly has to educate students from various ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds (section 1.3).

In addition to setting the thesis in context, the intention of this chapter is also to explain the theoretical stance underpinning my study (section 1.4). By aligning myself with anti-essentialist cultural literature, I take a theoretical approach that considers ‘ethnicity’ and ‘language’ as more open, fluid and complex categories than as proposed by the Hellenocentric ideology and as constructed within societies. I first describe the history of the opponent ethnicities in Cyprus (Turkish and Greek). I go on to sketch their development and then reflect on the importance of language and education in the creation of these two ethnic communities.

² Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities

The final part of this chapter (section 1.5) reviews some existing studies on the education of GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. Even though these studies provide us with useful findings, I find their approaches unsatisfactory because they are generally based on the employment of questionnaires or interviews. Consequently, these studies fail to capture naturally occurring speech and observational data, which is the gap that my thesis is intended to fill. There is only a small body of work applying ethnographic approaches to research on GAL students and the purpose of my thesis is to contribute to this body of research by offering new ethnographic knowledge on the topic.

1.1 The Cypriot context

Some familiarity with the Cypriot context is necessary when considering educational issues in this setting. In this section I describe the history of tension and clashes between the Turkish-Cypriot community and Greek-Cypriot community. I also refer to the traditionally community-based organisation of their educational systems. To achieve this, I make use of sociological and anthropological Cypriot academic literature.

1.1.1 Historical overview

Between 1887 and 1959, the island of Cyprus was a British colony, but in 1960, it emerged as an independent state after obtaining its autonomy from British rule. During this time, two ethnic communities primarily comprised its population. That is, approximately 80% of about half a million inhabitants were Greek-Cypriots, whereas 16% belonged to the Turkish-Cypriot community. Historically, the members of the Greek-Cypriot community who were for the most part Greek Orthodox Christians, spoke a variant of the Greek language and looked to Greece as the ‘mother nation’. By contrast, members of the Turkish-Cypriot community, who were Sunni Muslim, spoke a variant of Turkish and considered Turkey as the ‘mother nation’ (Hadjioannou, 2006: 395). Additionally, three other smaller communities live in Cyprus with less than three thousand members each. These are the Latini (of Franco-Catholic background), the Maronites and the Armenians. However, the 1960 constitution of Cyprus only recognises the Turkish-Cypriots and the Greek-Cypriots as ‘communities’ with power-sharing rights. The constitution treats the three other

smaller communities as religious groups with religious rights (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005). As Trimikliniotis (2004: 60) remarks, “the rigidity of the Constitution fixes ethnic identity in such a way that the two communities must be kept apart. Anyone not belonging to either of the two categories, such as members of smaller ‘religious groups’ (...) must opt to belong to either of the two main communities”. The Latini, Maronites and Armenians chose in 1960 to be considered as members of the Greek-Cypriot community. Furthermore, the 1960 constitution of Cyprus declared the two major communities’ languages as the official ones of the Republic: Greek and Turkish (Papapavlou, 1999).³

Organised education started taking root in Cyprus when the island was under British occupation. During this time, two distinct educational systems were developed: one for the Turkish-Cypriots and one for the Greek-Cypriots (Hadjioannou, 2006). As Hadjioannou (ibid.: 396) describes, “each system was organised and managed on a communal level, and was designed to serve the children in a way that satisfied the linguistic, religious and cultural objectives of the community that sponsored it”.

When Cyprus became an independent country in 1960, the community-based organisation of the educational system was maintained (Hadjioannou, 2006). As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.: 19) explains, “according to the Cyprus constitution educational matters are matters classified as ‘personal laws’ and are thus left to each of the communities to regulate under the Communal Chambers”. As a matter of fact, during the early years of the newly established Republic of Cyprus, the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot school systems remained completely distinct entities, with both of them preserving the right to determine the school curricula and the organisation of schools according to their perceived community needs. For the educational system of the Greek-Cypriot community, the language of instruction was Katharevusa (the Standard Greek of the time in Greece), whereas for the educational system of the Turkish-Cypriot community this was Turkish. In addition, each school system adopted curricula that approximated with those of the two ‘mother nations’. It is interesting to note here that each school system promoted the teaching of foreign languages (usually English and French), but did not offer the

³ Even though Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots were living together in Cyprus, there was no bilingualism between Turkish and Greek on the island in general. There was also no bilingualism involving the English language and Turkish or Greek as a result of the British Colonial government (Karoulla-Vriki, 2004).

language of the other community as a subject (Hadjioannou, 2006; Papapavlou, 1999).⁴ The fact that the two separate educational systems of the newly born Republic of Cyprus looked for educational orientation, objectives and policies towards their respective mother countries, led Karageorgis to the following critical conclusion: “It would not perhaps be an exaggeration if one maintained that education not only did not support but it undermined the very existence of the State which it was meant to serve” (Karageorgis, 1986: 152, cited in Trimikliniotis, 2004: 62).

However, the situation described above has changed since the mid 1960s. Specifically, open conflict between the Turkish-Cypriot and the Greek-Cypriot populations of the island during the period of 1963-1967 effectively severed communication and collaboration on all levels. During the years that followed, the division of the two communities became even more absolute. In 1974, a Turkish invasion split the island into two regions with Turkish-Cypriots relocating to the northern portion of Cyprus and Greek-Cypriots to the southern. The outcome of these events was the absolute division of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational systems. Up until today, two separate school systems have existed with completely distinct structure, goals and curricula (Hadjioannou, 2006).

In sum, Cyprus has substantial experience with linguistic diversity in that its two main communities speak different languages. However, its two independent school systems have never totally adapted to the bilingual makeup of Cypriot society, and thus, are comparatively inexperienced with linguistic diversity. The Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational systems have not had significant opportunities to work with a diverse student body and have, on the whole, been monolingual and monocultural (Hadjioannou, 2006; Tsiplakou and Georgi, 2008). Having presented the politically turbulent historical setting of the island of Cyprus and the traditionally independent educational systems of its two main communities, I now concentrate on the Greek-Cypriot community, which is the focus of my study. In the next subsection, I briefly review the linguistic situation in the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus.

⁴ The Greek-Cypriot MEC has recently introduced the teaching of Turkish as a foreign language into Greek-Cypriot formal schooling (see Charalambous, 2009a).

1.1.2 Bidialectism in the Greek-Cypriot community

According to Ferguson's (1959: 336) first definition of diglossia: "[it] is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified, (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in a other speech-community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (see also Ferguson, 1964b).

Scholars who have researched the linguistic condition in the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus describe this speech community as bidialectal (Moschonas, 1996, 2002; Papapavlou, 1998; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 1998) or as diglossic (Sciriha, 1995). In Fergusonian terms, Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is the high variety while the Greek-Cypriot Dialect (GCD), a set/continuum of regional idioms, is the low variety. The former was adopted in 1976 by the Greek state as its official language. The same standard is one of the two official languages of the Cyprus Republic, along with Turkish. SMG has also been set as the language of instruction and the target language of Greek-Cypriot education.

The dialect is different from the standard variety at the levels of lexis, phonology, morphology and syntax. According to Papapavlou (1994), the biggest dissimilarities between the regional variety and its standard counterpart can be found at the lexical level. GCD in its present-day vocabulary contains many words that have no linguistic similarity to equivalent words in SMG. Papapavlou (ibid.) indicates that the loanwords from Classical Greek language, Turkish and Arabic are what make GCD almost not understandable to many SMG speakers. Also, GCD and SMG differ considerably at the phonological level. As Pavlou and Papapavlou (2004: 248) argue, "a set of consonants (...) is found only in GCD, and certain phonemes (...) undergo some typical phonological alterations that do not occur in SMG". (For an explanation on the differences between SMG and GCD, see Newton, 1972; 1983; 1983-1984; Papapavlou, 1994.)

As with the majority of diglossic communities, in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, SMG is learned through schooling and is used in formal oral or written communication, whereas GCD is naturally learned by Greek-Cypriots and is used in everyday informal communication (Hadjioannou, 2006; Papapavlou, 1997). As Hadjioannou (ibid.: 407) explains, “even though there are some minor dialect variations among age, social and geographical groups, practically all Greek-Cypriots are native speakers of the GCD and Cypriot norms of linguistic communication dictate that the dialect be used for most interpersonal interactions”. Moschonas (1996), explaining the relationship between GCD and SMG, states that they are used predominantly (but not always) in complementary distribution, thus maintaining a functional separation in the written as well as the spoken usages. (For an explanation of the two varieties’ domains of usage, see Moschonas, 1996, 2002; Papapavlou and Pavlou, 1998; Sciriha, 1995; 1996.)

Similar to most diglossic situations, studies in the Greek-Cypriot community have indicated that, on the one hand, SMG is associated with prestige and high status, and on the other hand, GCD is associated with diminished prestige and the peasantry (Ioannidou, 2012; Moschonas, 1996; Tsiplakou et al., 2007). However, other studies have shown that its speakers evaluate GCD as authentic and solid, whereas they evaluate SMG as artificial and distant (Ioannidou, 2004; 2012; Papapavlou and Sophocleous, 2009). (For details on language attitudes of people in the Greek-Cypriot community relating to SMG and GCD, see Papapavlou, 1994; 1998; Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2000.)

Even though, as discussed above, many researchers have described the relation between SMG and GCD in the Greek-Cypriot community in terms of diglossia, some researchers suggest that there is a more complex kind of relation between these two language varieties. They argue that there has been the emergence of a standard or urban variety of GCD, which is more obvious in the speech of the generation born after 1974 (Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004; Tsiplakou, 2004a; 2004b). According to Karyolemou and Pavlou (2001, cited in Tsiplakou, 2004b: 2347), the emerging standard or urban variety of GCD includes:

- i) rapid lexical loss in the dialect and heavy lexical borrowing from the standard;

- ii) the attrition of the dialect at the syntactic, morphological and phonological levels and the emergence of mixed or hybrid syntactic, morphological and lexical structures; and
- iii) the seeping of SMG into informal speech by means of code-mixing and code-switching.

According to Tsiplakou (2004b: 2347), Greek-Cypriots appear aware of the development of a standard variety of GCD or a mixed variety between GCD and SMG:

“[S]peakers seem to be aware of the emergence of a ‘mixed’ urban Cypriot *koine*, as they systematically characterise this emerging variety as ‘sistarismena kipriaka’ or ‘sosta kipriaka’ (‘tidied-up Cypriot’ or ‘correct Cypriot’), and they report that this is a variety of Cypriot that comes naturally to them and that they use this variety when talking to [speakers from mainland Greece], as it is mutually intelligible with Standard Greek in a way that ‘heavy’ or ‘peasant’ Cypriot isn’t” (emphasis as in original).

It is notable that the role of English in the Greek-speaking part of Cyprus adds to the complication of the linguistic condition (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004). As already pointed out earlier, the island was under British Colonial Rule from 1878-1960 and it was during this time that GCD absorbed many English words (Swanson, 1958, cited in Yiakoumetti and Mina, 2011). (For a detailed explanation of the effects of English on the dialect at the lexical level as well as for a corpus of English loanwords found in GCD, see Papapavlou 1994; 1997.) Nowadays, English enjoys widespread use in the Greek-Cypriot community for different functions. As McEntee-Atalianis (2004: 81) explains:

“[English] is taught as a foreign language in schools and is the medium of education in tertiary education colleges. It also facilitates communication with those whose first language is English or is used as a lingua franca for social and professional exchange, the latter proving to be essential for example in the support of tourism, offshore industry and diplomacy. English also penetrates the island through business and commerce, science and technology and the media. Moreover, for those employed in responsible

positions in the public sector it is generally required that they should have command of English”.

Despite the fears expressed in the media and other discourses in the face of growing English language use in the Greek-Cypriot community, linguistic studies investigating the use of language and community attitudes argue that its influence in the community is not antagonistic to the continued preservation of the Greek nation's language and Greek identity (Goutsos, 2001; McEntee-Atalians, 2004; McEntee-Atalians and Pouloukas, 2001; Papapavlou, 1998).

From this overview of the linguistic situation in the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus, it becomes clear that its members use SMG and GCD in an integrated, hybrid fashion. English language also has a strong tradition and a significant use in the Greek-Cypriot community. In the section that follows I concentrate on the Greek-Cypriot educational system, within which this study took place, and its language practices.

1.2 The Greek-Cypriot educational context⁵

As pointed out in the previous section, the Greek-Cypriot educational system has been traditionally community-based, and thus, has had virtually no experience with diverse student populations. However, linguistic variations have always existed in Greek-Cypriot schools, because although the target language and the language of instruction is SMG, practically all Greek-Cypriots speak GCD (Hadjioannou, 2006). In what follows, I discuss this linguistic variation that characterises the Greek-Cypriot educational system. I do so through examining the Greek-Cypriot curriculum and syllabuses for primary education as well as by referring to studies on the use of

⁵ The educational system in the Greek-Cypriot community is centralised. This means that the MEC is responsible for the administration of Greek-Cypriot schools and educational policy. More specifically, the responsibility for the enforcement of educational laws, the development of educational policy and the preparation of educational bills lie with the MEC. Also, the curricula, the syllabus and the textbooks used at all levels of education are prescribed by the MEC (Spinthourakis et al., 2008). In addition to this, the Greek-Cypriot MEC controls all the schools via the school inspectors in every town and the school head-teachers (Angelides and Gibbs, 2007). There are four levels in the Greek-Cypriot educational system: pre-primary (under the administration of the Department of Primary Education), primary education, secondary education and tertiary education. Primary education on which this thesis focuses lasts six years. Children aged 6 years old and above attend primary education. There are both state and private primary schools. My thesis focuses on state primary schools that provide free access to all children (Spinthourakis et al., 2008).

SMG and GCD in Greek-Cypriot classrooms. It is significant to note here that, although my main focus in this study is primary education, I draw on relevant research literature, some of which covers both primary and secondary education.

1.2.1 The hegemony of SMG in language policy

The educational language policy in the bidialectal Greek-Cypriot community has been increasingly of interest to scholars, as it treats SMG as pupils' first language and excludes their actual dialectal language. As Papapavlou and Pavlou (2005: 166) observe:

“The language policy in Cyprus [the Greek-Cypriot community] can be characterised as a covert policy as it has never been clearly articulated in an official declaration or decree, nor is it presented in any specific, official, governmental document. Nevertheless, it is widely known among educators that the language of instruction at all levels of education is the *Koini Neoelliniki* or Pan-Hellenic Demotic Greek (SMG) due to the fact that the national curriculum in Cyprus is, to a large degree, a replica of the one used in Greece” (italics as in original).

Along similar lines, Yiakoumetti (2007: 52-53) asserts that:

“Cyprus [the Greek-Cypriot community] is especially interesting for its immoderate educational language policy which ignores the existence of the dialect. In Cyprus [the Greek-Cypriot community], children are taught as though SMG is their native variety. Teachers simply correct the ‘errors’ (dialectal interference) and reinforce SMG through repetition. (...) It must be noted that, in the whole of the Cypriot National Curriculum (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1996), no acknowledgement is made to the fact that the [G]CD is the actual mother tongue of Cypriots; SMG is treated as the native language. Moreover, no allusion is made to differences between the varieties of the home and the school or to any transitory stage that may assist in moving from the first to the second”.

Ioannidou (2012), looking at developments in Greek language curricula in the Greek-Cypriot community since 1960, states that the national ‘Helleno-Christian’ ideals have always determined language policy and constrained the amount of innovation in pedagogical matters that were always considered subordinate to national considerations. As she claims, the Greek-Cypriot community has never really formulated its own language policies. Instead, Greek-Cypriot education has fully identified with that of Greece and simply copied the reforms and changes that occurred in the language policies of Greece. Consequently, the selected and promoted school language has been the same as the selected and promoted school language of Greece, that is, SMG. The existence of GCD has not been officially addressed; there have been no policies or recommendations to the teachers on how to deal with bidialectism of the pupils. It is obvious, then, that there has been a stigmatisation of GCD (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010).

It is notable that since 2010 Greek-Cypriot education began to undergo an important transformation. The left-leaning government elected in 2008 initiated a general educational reform with the central motto of creating ‘a democratic and humanitarian school’ that provides equal opportunities for access, participation and success (Ioannidou, 2012). The most important aspect of this educational reform has been the creation of new curricula although they have yet to be enacted. Ioannidou (2012: 226) observes that in the new Greek language curricula “the issue of the dialect is for the first time officially addressed under a specific theoretical framework (i.e. critical literacy) and with explicit pedagogical suggestions for educators”. However, this changing of language curricula prompted considerable reaction in Greek-Cypriot society, which became apparent especially through the media. Through these reactions, fears were expressed concerning the promotion of GCD over SMG and thus the students’ Cypriot identity over their Greek one. However, the next right-leaning government elected in 2013 developed and circulated to all schools a policy document⁶ setting as the central goal of Greek-Cypriot education the teaching and learning of SMG, thereby maintaining its dominance and fundamentally devaluing the previous government’s considerations of GCD.

⁶ For the MEC’s circular in Greek, see http://www.schools.ac.cy/klimakio/Themata/Glossa/anakoinoseis_egkyklloi/2013_10_01_didaskalia_neas_ellinikis_glossas_sto_dimosio_scholeio.pdf, accessed on 20/8/2014.

1.2.2 The bidialectal reality of Greek-Cypriot classes

In contrast to the hegemony of SMG in Greek-Cypriot educational language policy, this is not the case when it comes to the actual language use in the classroom. Research has shown that both teachers and students widely use GCD in certain situations in classes (Ioannidou, 2009; Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004; Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010). For example, in a qualitative study of language use in two Greek-Cypriot fifth-grade primary school classrooms, Hadjioannou (2006) found that, whereas SMG was typically used for written work, oral communication was different. As she particularly argues:

“I found that, even though in their reflective essays most of the students stated that they used Standard Greek in their classroom interactions, in reality, they used a variety of blends between the standard and the GCD. More specifically, the analysis of the classroom discourse data showed that students used Standard Greek sprinkled with some primarily phonetic GCD elements when they were reciting previously learned knowledge and information in whole-class events. However, GCD elements became increasingly prominent as whole-class interactions became more lively, passionate and thoughtful and when students were trying to express thought-in-progress utterances. As far as small-group interactions were concerned, students typically used the GCD, switching to the standard only when composing their written reports” (ibid.: 398).

The same study showed that GCD was also present in the teachers’ speech, even though its elements were not as prominent as they were in the language of the students. Rather, the teachers tended to remain closer to the standard, with mostly phonetic elements of the GCD ‘colouring’ their otherwise standard verbal product. However, it seemed that the teachers switched to the GCD when they wanted to place special emphasis on a particular point and render it memorable to the students along with when making humorous contributions to the interactions (ibid.).

The language use in one Greek-Cypriot primary school classroom described by Ioannidou (2009) was even more complex and multi-levelled. In particular, in her ethnographic study, Ioannidou observes that:

“class E was far from being a monolingual place (...) the dialect was widely used both by the students and the teachers on various occasions in the classroom. In addition, there was a strong dialect presence even during the standard dominated occasion of the ‘actual lesson’, with certain features of the dialect being legitimised and accepted as part of the norm. However (...) a value system was created where, although the dialect was present and in certain aspects legitimised in the context of the classroom, the standard was the language of authority. (...) [On many occasions] there was a clash between the language of authority and the home variety of the students, often with potentially serious educational implications. Students were interrupted, corrected and failed to be praised for providing the correct answer simply because they, either by choice or necessity, decided to convey the meaning in their own variety” (ibid.: 275).

Further research on teachers’ attitudes concerning the employment of GCD in the class conducted by Papapavlou and Pavlou (2005) suggests that educators have generally more positive feelings towards SMG than they do towards GCD and, additionally, that they hold ambivalent attitudes towards the latter. In fact, the overwhelming majority of teachers who took part in this study stated that GCD has low status and some even claimed that it hinders Greek-Cypriot students’ learning of SMG. In contrast, they asserted that SMG is richer, more elaborate, and it is the language of successful people, people with prestige and as a result, they regarded it to be more appropriate as the language of instruction. Moreover, this research elicited that Greek-Cypriot teachers regard it as their responsibility to correct students when they use GCD in the classroom. However, they appeared to be less strict over its usage in some classroom domains, such as when it is used for discussing everyday matters, for being humorous, or complaining. In addition, the teachers in this study preferred to “use SMG when reprimanding students, as this is the code that represents officialdom and authority” (ibid.: 170) On the other hand, they found “the use of the dialect more appropriate when it serves such purposes as joking, counselling a student, using humorous expressions and when they need to provide explanations for concepts that students have difficulty comprehending” (ibid.). Also, the teachers confessed that when they expressed their intentions and

feelings they used the dialect, as the standard “signifies the existence of a distance between speakers” (ibid.).

Papapavlou and Pavlou’s (2005) findings are revealing since they show that the overall spirit of the teachers’ responses tallies with that of the official MEC language policy. Similarly to Papapavlou and Pavlou, other studies have revealed that Greek-Cypriot teachers generally deem GCD ‘unsuitable’ both as a medium of instruction and as a target language (Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004; Tsiplakou and Georgi, 2008). (For a comparison of teachers’ language use and language attitudes in Greek-Cypriot primary and secondary state education, see Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010.) However, research in the Greek-Cypriot community has demonstrated that the inclusion of GCD in the classroom has beneficial effects on students’ language performance. This became particularly obvious in the cases where the dialect was introduced in a conscious, explicit and well-planned way as a comparative tool for the learning of the standard variety (Yiakoumetti, 2007; Yiakoumetti et al., 2005).

To conclude, although GCD is regarded as undesirable for various reasons in Greek-Cypriot classrooms, it is very much present there (Hadjioannou, 2006). This issue emerged strongly during my focus on parallel classes and GAL students, as will become apparent later on in the thesis. Besides the GCD/SMG question, there is another important aspect of the Greek-Cypriot educational context, which is its traditional orientation towards ‘Hellenocentrism’. This ideology involves an envisioning of the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus as being homogeneous and Greek as in an idealised imagining of Greece (Charalambous, 2009a). In the next subsection, I focus on the Hellenocentric discourse that has been ever dominant in the education of the Greek-Cypriot community and refer to the role of SMG within this.

1.2.3 The long tradition of ‘Hellenocentrism’

In subsection 1.1.1, it was seen that during the British occupation, the two major communities of the island of Cyprus had separate educational systems and this was preserved after independence in 1960. Both educational systems have been traditionally responsible for serving the students in a manner that satisfied the cultural, religious and linguistic objectives of the community that sponsored them, as

well as for preserving the relationship with their respective ‘mother nations’ (Charalambous, 2009a). Moreover, in the previous section, I contended that throughout the history of Greek-Cypriot education the existence of one of the two language varieties that are present together in the Greek-Cypriot community has not been officially recognised in curriculum official documents. Given the historically community-based arrangement of the Greek-Cypriot educational system and the fact that the curriculum adopted has been closely matched with the Greek one, it comes as no surprise that the Greek-Cypriot education system considers SMG as the students’ home variety and neglects their actual dialect. It can be said, therefore, that Greek-Cypriot education is ideologically and nationally ‘coloured’ with SMG having a significant role to perform towards the cultivation and maintenance of the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots.

Academics investigating the Greek-Cypriot educational system emphasise its Hellenocentric, ethnocentric, nationalistic, monolingual and monocultural character and agree that the ‘Helleno-Christian’ ideals have always dominated Greek-Cypriot schools. These ideals have been dispersed throughout the educational environment. They have been spilled over into the curricula and textbooks (which traditionally have been imported from Greece) of subjects like Modern Greek (language and literature), history, religion and Ancient Greek (Charalambous, 2009a). Specifically, Koutsellini-Ioannidou (1997: 396) argues that Ancient Greek:

“has been regarded as the most essential of core curricular subjects because it enables the Orthodox church language to be understood, it connects modern Greece to Ancient Greek civilisation, and it assists in learning modern Greek; therefore it has been seen as a means of giving Greek-Cypriots the consciousness of their Greek origin and as a way to maintain the Greek identity and culture in Cyprus”.

Moreover, Frangoudaki and Dragona’s (1997) work on ethnocentrism in the history education of Greece has been very important. It explores the history curriculum and textbooks regarding their role in cultivating Greek identity and consciousness (see also Kizilyurek, 2002; Koullapis, 2002). As they argue, national identity is being perpetuated in the Greek educational system through the history school materials, which “present the Greek nation as an almost ‘natural’ entity, having three main

traits: uninterrupted historical continuity since antiquity, the powerful ability of conserving Greek cultural characteristics, and great cultural homogeneity” (Frangoudaki and Dragona, 2000: 233). History textbooks also accord Greek culture “the virtue of having presented the same characteristics, undifferentiated and unchanged since antiquity, hence undermining the idea of evolution, and implying that change is equivalent to decline” (ibid.: 233-234). Notably, these materials systematically described the Greek nation not as a product of history, but as an eternal, unified, unchanging and natural entity. So, it can be argued that the central aim of history teaching is not the cultivation of critical thinking, but the development of national consciousness (Avdela, 2000; Frangoudaki and Dragona, 2000; Voulgaris, 2000). In fact, this is a determining study of the ethnocentrism of the Greek educational system that applies also to the Greek-Cypriot community, as most of the textbooks employed in the Greek-Cypriot education system are historically brought from Greece.

Beyond the ethnocentric biases and nationalistic elements traditionally loaded in the textbooks of subjects like Ancient Greek, Modern Greek and history, Trimikliniotis (2004: 15) emphasises that “the ‘Helleno-Christian’ ideals spill over and are dispersed throughout the educational environment”. Extracurricular activities, such as the practice of morning prayer and the national celebrations and anniversaries are systematic features that have ethnic and religious biases much of the time. Trimikliniotis (ibid.) gives the example of “the 25th March, the day of the Virgin Mary and the anniversary of the 1821 Greek revolution [which is the most important school celebration]. This day is a national day of school parades, where the top pupil gets to be the ‘flag-carrier’ (σημαιοφόρος) [of] the Greek and the Cypriot flag”. The author concludes with the following questions: “What happens if the top student happens to be non-Greek, non-Christian? Does he or she get to carry the Greek flag with the cross on it?” (ibid.).

It is also important to mention that the socio-historical and political changes in Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot community (the British occupation, the 1960 constitution of Cyprus, the 1974 Turkish invasion, the war between Turkey and the

Republic of Cyprus, and the emergence of Cypriocentrism⁷) did not affect the dominance of the ‘Hellenocentric’ discourse that has existed throughout the history of Greek-Cypriot education (Charalambous, 2009a). Koutselini-Ioannidou (1997), investigating the changes to the secondary curricula of the Greek-Cypriot community from 1935 to 1990, contends that in spite of the appearance of “the defenders of a neutral Cypriot identity” after 1976:

“the philosophical and epistemological assumptions supporting the educational system did not change. Traditional educational culture has been internalised and seems to ensure the biographical and historical continuity of the people of Cyprus; the unresolved national problem contributes to that feeling and prevents modernisation of the educational system. The curriculum continues to preserve its national humanistic character and supports the pervasiveness of a supremacist national identity” (ibid.: 407).

Particularly during the period of 1993-1997, the at that point in time Minister of Education, Mrs Klairi Angelidou, made a more conscious effort to highlight that “within the identity of Greek-Cypriots, Cypriotness comes second to their Greekness” (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2005: 9). According to Karoulla-Vriki (ibid.), the minister, Mrs Angelidou, accepted the term ‘Greeks of the periphery’ instead of ‘Cypriots’ clarifying that “Cypriots are like the Cretans and the other islanders in Greece who claim to be Greeks”. Within this framework, language planning emphasised the teaching of both Ancient and Modern Greek as a means for the survival of Cypriot Hellenism. In particular, Mrs Angelidou “recommended teachers to praise the values of the Greek language, such as its vividness, its beauty, its structure and above all its ‘excessive’ richness” (ibid.: 10). She also placed importance on learning ‘correct’ Greek, that is SMG (Charalambous, 2009a).

This concise examination shows that the ‘Helleno-Christian’ ideals have become the dominant and hegemonic discourse in the Greek-Cypriot educational system. These ideals bring about an envisioning of the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus as

⁷ In both the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, discourse emphasising the ‘Cypriotness’ of Cypriot people, that is ‘Cypriots’ without any further ethnic specification being imposed from the ‘mother nations’, can be seen as an alternative to the official nationalist discourses. Normally, this has been the ideological thesis of the leftist parties in both communities and emerged mainly in the period after 1976, but it is weaker than the nationalist Greek ideology (see Charalambous, 2009a; Mavratsas, 1998; Papadakis, 1998).

being homogeneous and Greek (Charalambous, 2009a). However, over the past decades, the social environment and the student population in the Greek-Cypriot community have changed considerably due to the phenomenon of immigration and this is my focus in the following section. As I will argue later on in the thesis, the historically rooted Hellenocentric tradition in Greek-Cypriot schools is highly problematic especially now that there are these new migrant populations with their children entering the schools.

1.3 New migration in the Greek-Cypriot community

In this section, using data from sociological and economic studies, I explain the vast change in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community owing to new migration, and how this has affected the school system, which increasingly has to educate students from various ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds. In what follows, I illustrate the context of migration to the Greek-Cypriot community. This background information is significant for understanding later the biographical trajectories of the GAL students who participated in my research.

1.3.1 The context of new migration in the Greek-Cypriot community

Both within Europe and beyond, millions of people are on the move. As Spyrou (2009: 158) points out, “the patterns of transnational migration for work around the world are clearly shaping both the global landscape and the specific cultural contexts in which they take place” (see also Anthias and Lazarides, 2000). Before the new migration, the Greek-Cypriot community was relatively homogeneous with a Greek Orthodox population. According to the 1992 Census⁸, there were 599,000 Greek-Cypriots, comprising about 84% of the total population of Cyprus. The number of Turkish-Cypriots was 95,000⁹ and represented about 13% of the population. Maronites, Latins and Armenians constituted about 3% of the population (Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.). Intercommunal violence from 1963-1967 led to deep ongoing rifts between the two groups and since the invasion by Turkey in 1974,

⁸ From *Cyprus in figures*, 2000 edition, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, cited in Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, 2003.

⁹ This number is an estimation of Turkish-Cypriots residing in the northern section of Cyprus and who have occupied this area of the island since 1974. It does not include the Turkish settlers who are calculated approximately to be 115,000 and are illegally living in the northern section of the island (Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, 2003: 36).

the two communities have been living apart with Turkish-Cypriots living in the northern part of the island and Greek-Cypriots in the southern part (Theodorou, 2011a; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013; Zembylas, 2012). For many years, there was a lack of contact between Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots, which resulted in an almost complete geographical, cultural and political division of the island. However, since 2003, the restriction of movement between north and south has been partly revoked by the Turkish-Cypriot authorities (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005; Zembylas, 2012).

Since the 1990s, the Greek-Cypriot community has been undergoing change from being an exporter to an importer of migrants. There are both permanent and temporary immigrants mainly from South Asia and Eastern Europe (Spyrou, 2009; Theodorou, 2011a; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). According to Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2012: 276), “immigration policy in Cyprus was largely formulated in the 1990s, when the government decided to abandon the restrictive policies followed until then and allow more migrant workers into the country in order to meet labour shortages” (for additional explanation on Cyprus’s immigration policy see Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005, 2007). So, the Greek-Cypriot community started experiencing the mass influx of migrant labour during the 1990s. As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides explain:

“The recent increase in the movement of migrant workers to Cyprus is associated with the economic development and economic restructuring that took place in Cyprus during recent years creating conditions for additional labour demand in the productive spheres of the economy and for the provision of services such as the case of domestic workers¹⁰. An important factor which has contributed to the inflow of migrant workers to Cyprus was the breakdown of the economies and societies of Central and Eastern Europe

¹⁰ The fact that “many more [Greek-Cypriot] women have entered the labour market in recent years (...) [has created] a gap in the provision of childcare and care for the elderly, which have traditionally been provided [in the case of the Greek-Cypriot community] by women” (Spyrou, 2009: 158; see also Anthias, 2000; Anthias and Lazarides, 2000). As Spyrou (2009: 158) explains:

“The lack of local labour to fill this need at a cheap or affordable price led the government of Cyprus to invite foreign workers to come on temporary visas to work in Cyprus. The arrival of large numbers of Asian domestic workers since the early 1990s largely met the need for cheap labour that could be used by families for housework, childcare or for care provided to elderly or disabled family members”.

and particularly the Balkans in the early 1990s thus creating conditions of abundant labour supply¹¹” (n.d.: 2).

These immigrants were primarily workers on provisional visas with temporary work permits, working in low-paid, low-skilled and low-status jobs (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005, 2007; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.). In addition, at this time, an inflow of illegal workers without the required permits was witnessed (Trimikliniotis, 1999; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.).

Furthermore, in the early 1990s, there was an influx of permanent immigrants from Euxeinos Pontos (the Black Sea), where descendents of a Greek ethnic group had been living: the Greek-Pontians (Hadjioannou, 2006). According to Theodorou and Symeou (2013: 356), Greek-Pontians “form a group of the Greek Diaspora with ties to the Greek-Cypriot majority of Cyprus through symbolic affiliation to the Greek nation and common religious practices”. As Theodorou (2011a: 502) explains:

“Pontians, while ethnic Greeks, developed culturally and otherwise independently from Mainland Greece at their original location of settlement, the coast of the Black Sea. Following Ottoman persecution in the early twentieth century, they fled to Greece and to countries of the former Soviet Union, such as Russia, Georgia, and Ukraine (...) Those who had sought refuge in the former Soviet Union ‘returned’ after its collapse to what they perceived to be the historic homeland, Greece (...) Once in Greece, Pontians acquired Greek citizenship. Many eventually made their way to Cyprus as EU citizens and settled there as families” (see also Samouilides, 2002; Theodorou, 2011b; Vergeti, 2000).

As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.: 2) point out:

“This category of migrant workers is different from the temporary workers mentioned above since there is no requirement for a work permit in their case. They are Greek citizens and are thus entitled to permanent residence

¹¹ There were international factors that influenced the influx of immigrants into the Greek-Cypriot community: the collapse of the Eastern European regimes, the collapse of Beirut as the Middle Eastern centre and the consequences of the Gulf War (Trimikliniotis, 1999; see also Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005).

and an employment permit through a bilateral agreement with the government of Greece”.

The subsequent partial revocation in 2003 of the restriction of movement between the northern and the southern part of the island resulted in the domestic migration of indigenous Roma people from the north to the south (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). Similarly to Greek Pontians, this group shares historic links with the country. As Theodorou and Symeou (2013: 356-357) explain:

“Roma people (...) are historically and politically linked to Cyprus as an indigenous cultural group officially belonging to the Turkish-Cypriot community with common citizenship rights as the Greek-Cypriot majority group, but with dissimilar cultural and religious traditions. They are better known as Cigani or Tsiggani, and arrived on the island in the fourteenth century CE (...) Most Cypriot Roma are referred to as Muslim Roma called Ghurbeti. Greek Orthodox Christian Roma, called Mandi, were fewer in numbers. Following the 1974 Turkish military invasion of Cyprus, most Ghurbeti moved from the south to the north. During the last decade, Roma groups from the north moved to the south and settled in socio-economically deprived urban areas, altogether approaching 570 people” (see also Marsh and Strand, 2003).

At this time, the Greek-Cypriot community started seeing the first significant numbers of immigrant families with permanent settlement intentions. Moreover, this was the first time that a considerable amount of non-Greek-Cypriot pupils entered the Greek-Cypriot education system (Hadjioannou, 2006). Another further small group of migrants in the Greek-Cypriot community were the self-employed, whilst an even smaller one pertained to those immigrants who were married to Cypriots and thus granted Cypriot citizenship (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005, 2007; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.).

So, the proportion of immigrants in the Greek-Cypriot community has suddenly risen over a short duration. As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides point out:

“In 1990, the total number of migrant workers (excluding domestic workers) was 545. By 1996, this number had increased to 10,370 and by 2002 to 30,225. In other words, there has been a threefold increase in the total number of migrant workers employed legally and in full possession of all the necessary papers (...) However, the total number of migrants in Cyprus is significantly more than those possessing a work permit” (n.d.: 4).

According to the 2011 Census¹², there were around 151,000 migrants in the Greek-Cypriot community, a number that corresponded to 21% of the total population. 108,000 of those migrants were economically active, which represented about 26% of the working population.

Concerning now the immigrants’ origins, the Greek-Pontians constitute the largest group, who “found their way to Cyprus as naturalised Greek, and thus EU, citizens, in search of better employment opportunities” (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013: 356). They “have permanent residence rights as well as the right of employment in Cyprus” (Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.: 4). According to Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, the Greek-Pontians “is a group with high levels of unemployment or irregular work patterns” (ibid.: 12). Other groups of immigrants are workers from Eastern and Central Europe as well as Asia (Theodorou, 2011a). In the area of offshore business, an important number of non-Cypriot employees come from Eastern and Central Europe. They are specifically coming from the former Yugoslav Republics and Russia. The majority of domestic workers come from Asia, particularly Sri Lanka and Philippines. In the areas of trade, restaurants and hotels, most migrant workers come from Eastern and Central Europe, especially the Balkans. In the areas of construction, manufacturing and agriculture, a considerable number of workers are Asian migrants. All of the aforementioned are arduous and low skill environments (Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.).

Interestingly, Trimikliniotis (1999: 5-6) emphasises the ‘feminisation of entire sectors of the labour market’:

¹² From *Population Census*, 2011 edition, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_22main_en/populationconditi on_22main_en?OpenForm&sub=2&sel=2, accessed on 20/8/2014).

“Domestic helpers/assistants consist entirely of Asian, and primarily Filipino women (...) whilst cleaners are again mainly Asian women, from Sri Lanka and the Philippines. Other sectors, such as building and construction, are male dominated (Syria, Egypt) (...) A sector made entirely by women is the ‘sex industry’ and is found under the classifications of ‘artists’, ‘dancers’ and ‘musicians’ mainly working in ‘clubs’ and ‘cabarets’ (...) Prior to the collapse of the Eastern European regimes the ‘artists and musicians’ sector was dominated by Filipino and Thailand women (...) but with collapse of these regimes the sector is dominated by eastern Europeans”.

To conclude, the increased immigration over the last 20 years has transformed the Greek-Cypriot community into an increasingly linguistically, ethnically and culturally diverse society. These circumstances have considerably influenced the societal setting as the population, traditionally being primarily of Greek origin, is no longer homogeneous, but rather, consists of various groups, cultures and languages. There are those who have temporarily or permanently migrated to the Greek-Cypriot community and use languages other than Greek¹³; whilst at the same time, there are those who were born in Greek-Cypriot society but speak other languages.

1.3.2 Current statistics regarding linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity in Greek-Cypriot primary education

In sections 1.1 and 1.2, I discussed two different elements of linguistic variation. Firstly, regarding the two main linguistic communities living in Cyprus, the Turkish-Cypriots and the Greek-Cypriots and secondly, that GCD together with SMG are present in both the Greek-Cypriot educational system and society in general. However, these elements of variation have not actually challenged the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the Greek-Cypriot educational system. This is because “Turkish-Cypriot students never attended Greek-Cypriot schools and, as the first language of most Greek-Cypriots, the GCD is prominently present across schools, students and teachers” (Hadjioannou, 2006: 399).

¹³ English language is used as the lingua franca by many immigrants in the Greek-Cypriot community, particularly those from English-speaking countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India as well as countries from Eastern Europe (see Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004; McEntee-Atalianis, 2004).

Nevertheless, as I have already explained earlier, the fact that the Greek-Cypriot community has been experiencing a mass influx of immigrants over the last few decades has naturally led to a sudden increase in the number of non-Greek-Cypriot pupils among the student population. The dramatic change in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community has affected the school system, which increasingly has to educate students from various ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds (Zembylas, 2012; Theodorou, 2011a). According to statistics released by the Greek-Cypriot MEC in 2012¹⁴, there were 17,342 ‘foreign’ students in Greek-Cypriot schools during the school year 2010-2011, which amounted to 11.8% of the total student population. 6,205 of those students were in public primary schools and 2,543 were attending programmes for GAL teaching. This number of non-Greek-Cypriot children among the student population is very substantial for a school system that had no experience of working with such pupils before the last quarter of a century (Hadjioannou, 2006; Papapavlou, 2003).

The table below (1.1) shows the percentage of GAL students attending Greek-Cypriot public primary schools during the academic years 2009-2010, 2010-2011 and 2011-2012.

Table 1.1

School year	Number of GAL pupils	Percentage
2009-2010	5,281	10.5
2010-2011	6,047 ¹⁵	12.0
2011-2012	6,670	13.3

Source: Statistical information released by the Greek-Cypriot MEC at http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/diapolitismiki/statistika_dimotiki.html, accessed on 20/8/2014

According to these statistics, there has been an increase of approximately 3% in GAL students since 2009. Taking into consideration the continuing increase in immigrants in the Greek-Cypriot community, this percentage is likely to continue to rise and hence, so too, the amount of linguistic diversity.

¹⁴ From *Education Statistics 2010-2011*, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_24main_gr/populationcondition_24main_gr?OpenForm&sub=4&sel=1, accessed on 20/8/2014).

¹⁵ There should be some caution taken with the nature of statistics regarding the total number of GAL children, because of discrepancies and inconsistencies between statistical reports in the same year.

The following table (1.2) provides statistical information released by the Greek-Cypriot MEC of the number of ‘foreign’ pupils by country of nationality and type of school. With regards to the country of origin of ‘foreign’ students, the largest groups are British, Bulgarians, Romanians and Greek-Pontians. Other major countries of origin are Russia, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Ukraine, Poland, Iran and Egypt. Concerning the Greek-Pontian students, they are counted separately from those pupils of Russian and Georgian descent. This table is very useful because it shows that we are more likely to find children with Bulgarian, Greek-Pontian, Romanian and Georgian origin than children with French and German origin in Greek-Cypriot schools. There must be some caution taken with statistics regarding children from the United Kingdom, because it is not specified whether or not they are actually from expatriate Greek-Cypriot families who have returned to Cyprus.

Table 1.2

Country of nationality	Public schools	Private schools	Total
<i>European Union Countries</i>			
Bulgaria	843	25	868
France	7	50	57
Germany	9	35	44
Greeks of Pontos	717	8	725
United Kingdom	422	523	945
Poland	115	24	139
Romania	784	9	793
<i>Other Non-European Countries</i>			
Egypt	69	34	103
Georgia	650	3	653
Iran	105	16	121
Iraq	195	1	196
Lebanon	53	32	85
Moldova	75	5	80
Ukraine	125	55	180
Palestine	205	8	213
Russia	320	388	708
Syria	267	25	292

Source: Education Statistics 2010-2011, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_24main_gr/populationcondition_24main_gr?OpenForm&sub=4&sel=1, accessed on 20/8/2014

Looking at table 1.2, it is interesting that most of the students of French origin (50) attended private instead of public¹⁶ primary schools (7). The same is the case for the students of German origin: 35 children were in private and only nine children were in public primary schools. By contrast, the majority of the students of Romanian descent attended public primary schools (784), whilst only nine were in private ones. The same is the case for the Greek-Pontian students with 717 in public schools and only eight in private ones, as well as for Bulgarians with 843 in public schools and only 25 being educated privately. So, it seems that actually the higher status children are not going to public schools, but instead, they are attending private schools. (I return to this in chapter 7 on the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies in Cyprus.)

On the basis of the above statistics, it can also be seen that the amount of different home languages is sizable. As Papapavlou (2003) reports, some of the languages most frequently spoken by GAL students during the year 2002-2003 were English (36%), Russian (30%), Bulgarian (4%) and Romanian (4%). Symeou and Demona (2005: 157) found that 44% of the 151 GAL students who participated in their research had Russian as their home language, 22% English, 8% Georgian, 8% another language and only 4% Filipino. Furthermore, their research shows that 14% of these students did not speak their parents' language.

Nevertheless, the abovementioned statistics should be viewed with caution because of certain limitations. In real life it can be difficult to fit people into separate and distinct ethnic categories, as these 'ethnically absolute' categories oversimplify their multifaceted and diverse relationships with other cultures and languages (Gilroy, 1987; Harris, 1997). I return to this in chapter 6 on the heterogeneity of GAL students. I now refer to anti-essentialist views of 'ethnicity', 'ethnic/national identity' and 'community' in order to explain the history of rival nationalisms in Cyprus.

1.4 Alternative Perspectives

In the subsections that follow I explain my theoretical position, which is different from the Hellenocentric approach to ethnicity and language. This is in line with anti-

¹⁶ According to the MEC, "public schools are mainly financed from public funds, while the private schools raise their funds primarily from tuition fees" (Education Statistics 2010-2011, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, p. 29, see http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_24main_gr/populationcondition_24main_gr?OpenForm&sub=4&sel=1, accessed on 20/8/2014).

essentialist cultural and nationalism literature that views national communities as constructions specifically and consciously cultivated within societies, as well as educational systems being important means of reproducing and perpetuating official values, beliefs and cultural identity. Moreover, language is regarded in this literature as a powerful mechanism for inclusion or exclusion of an ethnic group. Subsequently, I focus the discourse back on Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot community where I provide an alternative understanding of the socio-historical context, which is different to that presented in the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot official discourses.

1.4.1 ‘Imagined communities’ of nationality

Benedict Anderson, likening the modern nation to an ‘imagined political community’, has been extremely important in the nationalism literature. As Anderson (1991: 6) explains, all national communities are “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. It is necessary to highlight that the notion of a collective national group has to be consciously cultivated as it is beyond any individual’s everyday life experience (May, 2001). As Anderson (1991: 4) notes, “my point of departure is that nationality, or, as one might prefer to put it in view of that word’s multiple significations, nationness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind”.

Along the same vein, Miller (1995) suggests that national communities do not exist independently of people’s beliefs about them. Instead, they are composed by belief. As he claims, “nations exist when their members recognise one another as compatriots, and believe that they share characteristics of the relevant kind” (ibid.: 22). Barrett (1996: 349) defines the nation as:

“a named category of people who, objectively, share common legal rights and constraints, a common economy, and a common geographical territory (often a single nation-state) within which mobility may take place; more contentiously, the members of a national group also share common historical

representations and myths of origin, and a common language and a common public culture”.

In other words, he defines the nation as a group of people who consciously form a distinct community and believe that they share common historical memories, a shared culture (language, religion), a specific territory and a common political destiny (May, 2001).

These shared characteristics are perceived in nationalist ideologies as pre-existing attachments or ethnic ties that ensure people’s belongingness in the same national group. In addition to this, cultural and linguistic homogeneity is often emphasised, as this is considered important for the fostering of the nation’s internal integration and thus the government’s effective running (Charalambous, 2009a; May, 2001). The idea of ‘shared blood’ is commonly used to verify and maintain such conceptualisations of cultural and linguistic homogeneity, but also to bring about the feeling of relationship among the members of the collective national group. These metaphors of blood and of a kinship among people impose a notion of the nation as something that is given biologically and by nature and, as a result, it is perpetual and inalterable to the time erosion and the historical events (Charalambous, 2009a). As Danforth (2000: 86) claims:

“In nationalist ideologies the national identity of a person is usually regarded as something permanent, innate and immutable. It is often thought of as consisting of some natural or spiritual essence which is identified with a person’s blood or soul”.

Obviously, nationalist ideologies are founded upon essentialised views of ethnicity and nationalism, namely, understanding ethnic and national identities as innate and, hence, permanent and unalterable (Charalambous, 2009a). However, Gellner (1987) observes that in the pre-modern, feudal, dynastic and largely agrarian societies those feelings of collective ‘national’ belonging that characterise the modern nation make little sense and “what is virtually inconceivable within such a system is a serious and sustained drive for linguistic and cultural homogeneity” (ibid.: 15). Indeed, “this age of nationalism arose out of the specific historical and social developments of modernisation and its concomitants – industrialisation, political democracy and

universal literacy – in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe” (May, 2001: 62). In contrast, national identity became meaningful as it was closely related to the process of nation building and ran parallel to the requirement for self-determination (Charalambous, 2009a).

In what follows, I move the locus back to Cyprus, where I explain how people moved towards imagining themselves as belonging to two different ethnic/national groups, which has its roots in British Colonial Rule. The above theoretical discussion on nationalism along with the historical narrative that follows help to explain the ideological processes present in modern day Greek-Cypriot society and hence, also the educational debates around immigrant children.

In Cyprus, the development of nationalism was not associated with the nation itself or with the state-building within the country, but with factors outside the island, like the nation-building processes in Greece and Turkey and the emergence of Greek and Turkish nationalism (Charalambous, 2009a). As Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek (2004: 38) explain:

“The reason for this is that the ultimate aim to unite with ‘mother Greece’ and ‘mother Turkey’ became the main goal of nationalism in Cyprus. The result was the denial of state-building within Cyprus and the development of two mutually exclusive ethnocultural communities. Cyprus was not perceived as a self contained territory, in which an independent state could be created but as a piece of territory, which assumes meaning only as part of the ‘supra-family’ of the Greek and/or Turkish nation”.

An American anthropologist, Bryant (2004), who investigated the formation of Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus, traces their appearance on the island to the alteration from Ottoman to British rule¹⁷, and accordingly, “the transformation of Cypriot subjects into nationalist citizens” (ibid.: 22). As she explains, while during the Ottoman period Cypriots were categorised in terms of their religion as either Christians or Muslims, under British colonialism they were classified in communal terms as either Greeks or Turks. Morag (2004: 621-622) contends that the emergence

¹⁷ The island of Cyprus was under the Ottoman rule from 1571-1878 and it was under the British rule from 1878-1960.

of the two nationalisms in Cyprus “was the product of a series of processes that were based, to varying degrees, in the realities of geography, modernisation, and colonial politics”. As he reports, Greek and Turkish nationalism emerged on the island through Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriots’ encounters with modernity under British rule, that is, the modernisation of the island’s economy and politics, the ‘ethnic division of labour’, the establishment of organised education, and the trend towards urbanisation on the island leading to “the movement of Cypriots away from mixed villages and towards segregated quarters in cities” (ibid.: 600). Also, Morag claims that the development of the two nationalisms in Cyprus was strongly affected by British colonialism due to divide and rule:

“Viewing their subjects as Greeks and Turks rather than as Orthodox and Muslim, the British instituted a dual educational system (...) By socialising young Cypriots into being Greeks and Turks – rather than fostering the development of a Cypriot civil identity (or even a Cypriot nationalism) – the British may have thought that dividing the population would enable them to retain control on the island indefinitely but this only increased the national awareness of the Greek-Cypriots – and later that of the Turkish-Cypriots as well” (ibid.: 605).

Moreover, Cyprus’s highly important strategic location for Greece, Turkey and Britain led them to enhance their attempts to secure links with the inhabitants or possess the island (ibid.).

As already pointed out, Greek-Cypriot nationalism was principally shaped under British Colonial Rule and was very much affected by Greek nationalism. More specifically, the formation of the Greek nation state as well as the development of the Greek national consciousness had a massive impact upon the traditional society of Cyprus and the traditional co-existence of Christians and Muslims on the island, since the Christian Orthodox people started identifying themselves with that nation, in particular, because they shared a common religion, culture and language (Charalambous, 2009a; Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004). In addition, the realisation of Crete’s dream to unite with Greece in 1912, after many struggles, which also resulted in the deportation of the Turkish population of the island to Turkey, gave hopes to Greek-Cypriots that this would happen. As a result, in the

1950s Greek-Orthodox Cypriots embarked on an anti-colonial battle in the name of union (*Enosis*) with Greece. This was carried out by the *Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston* (EOKA) movement or the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (Bryant, 2002; Charalambous, 2009a; Morag, 2004; Papadakis, 2003).

In response to the Greek-Cypriots' wish for uniting with Greece, Turkish-Cypriots saw that their existence was threatened. As a result of the fear that unification would result in their deportation, Muslim Cypriots, who up to the start of the 20th century had not yet developed their Turkish identity, embarked in 1958 their own armed struggle for partition (*Taksim*) of Cyprus between the two groups, led by the movement of *Türk Mukavemet Teskilati* (TMT) or the Turkish Resistance Organisation. Throughout the 1955-59 anti-colonial battle, the minority population of Turkish-Cypriots turned to cooperation with British forces and a lot of times they collaborated with them against the Greek-Cypriot combatants (Bryant, 2002; Charalambous, 2009a; Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004; Morag, 2004; Papadakis, 2003). In fact, as Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek (2004: 40) argue, "the Turkish-Cypriot nationalism mainly developed in reaction to the Greek-Cypriot national desire for union with Greece".

The second significant influence on the emergence of a Turkish-Cypriot ethnic identity was the campaign of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, which began at the start of the second decade of the 20th century with the goal of achieving the Westernisation of Turkey (Charalambous, 2009a; Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004). This campaign included a number of secular reforms, such as "replacing Islamic law with an adaption of the Swiss civil code, secularising and monopolising education, abolishing religious and traditional dress, and replacing the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet" (Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004: 41) and led to the construction of the modern nation-state of Turkey (Charalambous, 2009a; Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004). The introduction of Atatürk's reforms in Cyprus started as early as the 1920s and within a matter of few years "Turkish-Cypriots refused to be called *Muslims* and started calling themselves *Turks of Cyprus*" (Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004: 41, emphasis as in original).

I have already argued above how the metaphors of blood and of kinship between people and the land are frequently found in nationalist ideologies. Such metaphors

appear notoriously to naturalise historical ‘facts’ and the ‘natural’ kinship of land and people (Bryant, 2002; Charalambous, 2009a). Investigating the metaphors used by the two nationalisms in Cyprus, Bryant (2002: 511) contends that the Greek-Cypriot nationalism “has tended to use metaphors of ‘soul’ or ‘spirit’ (*psychí*, or sometimes *pneúma*) to represent their kinship with the land, along with accompanying attributes of spiritual purity” (emphasis as in original). For instance, a frequently used slogan is ‘the spirit of Cyprus is Greek’, where the spirit represents something internal, pure and natural, but also something eternal and inalterable to the erosion of historical events or time. In these beliefs, Greece is depicted at all times as ‘the mother’, while Cyprus is depicted alternatively as a mother or a chaste maiden (Bryant, 2002; Charalambous, 2009a). This is not surprising, in fact, if the two main attributes of the ‘soul’ (*psychí* – which in Greek is feminine) are considered as being purity and continuity: “virgins are pure, while mothers are the providers of continuity” (Bryant, 2002: 514). In addition to this, Bryant (ibid.) observes that the idea of the land as mother or chaste maiden is connected with Panaghia or the Virgin Mary and this is where the importance and power of the Orthodox Church in Greek-Cypriot nationalism is found. As she specifically claims:

“When transposed to the plane of the nation, it appears that there is a circular move at work that links *psychí* and its purity to the land as mother, that the mother is conceived as the body of the Church, and the Church as the soul of the nation. Hence, priests could also represent Christ protecting the virginal body of the Church, namely the land” (ibid.: 515, emphasis as in original).

Under Turkish-Cypriot nationalism, on the other hand, the metaphors used are completely different. Bryant (ibid.) maintains that these discourses have employed metaphors of ‘blood’ (*kan*) to symbolise their kinship with the land, together with associated qualities of power. The blood soaking the land is perceived as masculine and has the ability to conquer the land, which is understood to be feminine. This refers to the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans in 1571 (Charalambous, 2009a). Within the same ideology, Cyprus is described as the ‘Baby Homeland’ (*Yavru Vatan*), while Anatolia is described as its ‘Motherland’ (*Anavatan*), an association which, as Bryant claims, implies that “Cyprus is the offspring of the Anatolian mother and the Turkish blood shed in the island” (ibid.: 517).

Bryant (2002) argues that these ruling metaphors of spirit and blood in Cyprus, by figuring as “part of an objective, historical reality” (ibid.: 511), caused the formation of “two conflicting styles of nationalist imagination [which] led to the violent rending of Cyprus in 1974 and afterwards sustained that division” (2004: 2). As she claims:

“the fundamental differences between Greek and Turkish nationalisms in Cyprus (...) are predicated on a divergence between the communities in the meaning and logic of history. Greek-Cypriot history assumes the primordial inevitability of blood ties, such that Turkish-Cypriots are usually seen as descendants of converted Greeks. In contrast, Turkish-Cypriot history stresses historical contingency (the Ottoman conquest of 1571), accommodation, and acculturation as social foundation” (ibid.: 4).

More specifically, the Greek-Cypriot official historical narrative emphasises that, in spite of consecutive conquerors, such as the Phoenicians, Persians, Ptolemaists, Romans, Arabs, Crusaders, French, Venetians, Ottomans and British, the island managed to maintain its ‘Greekness’, that is, its Greek blood, Greek language, culture and customs, and its Christian Orthodox religion. This narrative emphasises the arrival of Greek Mycenaeans in 1400BC, while the Turkish-Cypriots are identified with the beginning of Ottoman rule over Cyprus in 1571AD (Philippou, 2007). In other words, Greek-Cypriots use historical arguments to justify their Greek identity by claiming that the island of Cyprus has been part of the ancient Hellenic world and is thus Greek¹⁸ (Morag, 2004). The Greek-Cypriot historical narrative sometimes goes so far as to claim that Turkish-Cypriots are Greeks ‘by blood’, but that they converted to Islam in the early years of Ottoman rule (see Bryant, 2002; 2004). Conversely, the official historical narrative of Turkish-Cypriots alleges that Cyprus is a geographical extension of Anatolia and emphasises its importance for Turkey. This narrative goes further to say that Greece has no historical link with Cyprus and that Greek-Cypriots living in Cyprus are not actually Greeks (Kizilyurek, 2002; see also Copeaux, 2002).

¹⁸ This is well known as the *Megali Idea* or Great Idea. According to Gregoriou (2004: 258), “the Great Idea (...) claimed that the Hellenic Nation exceeded the borders of the Greek nation-state and included the Greeks of the unredeemed Hellenism, for example, Constantinople, Asia Minor, the Balkans, and Cyprus”.

As regards the contemporary history of Cyprus, the Greek-Cypriot narrative argues that responsibility for the tragic Turkish invasion in 1974, which divided the island by a Dead Zone separating south from north, lay in a coup organised by a radical group calling itself EOKA B with the aid of the dictatorial Government of Greece against the Government of the Republic of Cyprus. Greek-Cypriots present themselves as the major victims of the 1974 Turkish invasion in terms of a people dislocated, injured, killed and missing. The reality that Turkish-Cypriots were subject to violence, massacres by the army and paramilitary groups, and were compelled to withdraw into their own communities in the period between 1964-1974 is ignored by this narrative (Papadaks, 2004; Philippou, 2007; Trimikliniotis, 2004). By contrast, “the Turkish-Cypriot narrative characterises the 1974 military intervention as a peace operation conducted to protect Turkish-Cypriots from Greek-Cypriot nationalism (the painful results of which, such as displacement and killings, they had experienced during the 1960s), to restore their human rights and for nine years onwards, to ensure their political recognition in the form of ‘TRNC’ (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) established in 1983, a state that only Turkey recognises” (Philippou, 2007: 251).

However, even though scholars describe Greek-Cypriot history as founded on a belief in ‘continuity’ (Bryant, 2002; 2004; Kizilyurek, 2002; Koullapis, 2002; Theodosopoulos, 2006) and that of Turkish-Cypriots as based on the idea of ‘contingency’ (Bryant, 2002; 2004), both historical narratives, while undeniably different, have been essentialised into the metaphors of blood, spirit, religion, language and culture, and imply the sense of the nation as something permanent, innate and immutable (Charalambous, 2009a). As Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek (2004: 45) state, “in this nationalist perspective, the national identity is something that is naturally and biologically given and is first and foremost determined by blood and birth”. Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot official historical accounts illustrate nationalistic tendencies as both rely on historical arguments when claiming that Cyprus ‘belongs’ to them. These two versions of the past reflect each other by delegitimising the other’s historical existence, blaming them and censoring their pain. The two narratives ignore the historical dynamics of interaction and contact between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities in addition to other communities and cultures, such as Phoenicians, Persians, Romans, Ottomans and the British (Philippou, 2007).

By using the metaphors of blood and of a kinship between people and the land mentioned above, and by incorporating these metaphors into the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot versions of history, nationalist ideologies in Cyprus transformed people who were living together in mixed villages from neighbours and fellows into permanent enemies. Indeed, by the mid 20th century when nationalism reached its apex, the two ethno-national communities operated the principal of ‘other’ towards each other. In the context of Cyprus, sociologists and anthropologists have frequently used the concepts of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in order to describe the relation between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities (Argyrou, 2006; Charalambous, 2009a; Spyrou, 2002; 2006; Theodossopoulos, 2006). According to Spyrou (2002: 259):

“the very construction of a national identity is based on this self/other frame of reference where the ‘self’ always emerges as superior to the ‘other’. It is a kind of logic that seeks to define the ‘self’ in terms of the ‘other’ but in the process both ‘self’ and ‘other’ emerge as two polarised opposites that cannot exist (in that form) but in relation to one another. To put it another way, *there are Greeks because there are Turks*” (emphasis as in original).

In the words of Argyrou (2006: 35):

“What I am makes sense in relation to what I am not – you – and the reverse also holds true. The meaning that I attach to myself is that which I refuse to attach to you; or, more assertively, by constructing you as a certain absence – you lack this or that – I also construct myself as a plenitude and assert my presence”.

It is common that nationalist imagination requires “some kind of ‘other’ to direct its gaze and to construct its own sense of identity” (Spyrou, 2009: 159). Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have therefore determined and developed their own identities in contrast to each other (Charalambous, 2009a).

Specifically for the Greek-Cypriot community, as Spyrou (2002; 2006) reports, the primary ‘other’ against whom contemporary Greek-Cypriots construct their identities

is the Turks. In this nationalist ideology, the category 'Greeks' becomes meaningful when it is compared with the category 'Turks' in terms of war, civilisation, or any aspect of daily life. In the Greek-Cypriot nationalism, the opposite category 'Turks' has also helped to establish the boundaries of the category 'Greeks' through a process of inclusion and exclusion as those outside the nation are classified as foreigners as well as outsiders and are relegated to the category of the 'other', that is, those who are substantially different from the 'self'. In his research, Spyrou (2002) cites numerous examples where Greek-Cypriots integrate the two polarised opposites, 'Greeks' and 'Turks', into a larger explanatory framework of the West that is 'civilised' versus the East that is 'uncivilised'. However, recent research has shown that a substitute is found for Greek-Cypriots to construct their collective sense of 'self', namely, foreign workers (Argyrou, 2006). Spyrou (2009: 160) goes even further to claim that "the Turks, being an Eastern Other, in the Greek-Cypriot nationalist imagination often lend their cultural negativity to other kinds of Easterners, such as Sri Lankans and Filipinos". I will return to this point in chapter 7 on ethnic and linguistic hierarchies in the Greek-Cypriot community. Nevertheless, the categories of 'Greeks', 'Turks', 'Easterners', 'Sri Lankans' and 'Filipinos' entail an over-simplification and generalisation of these ethnic groups, seeing them as homogeneous entities with eternal and distinct cultural boundaries. Of course, in everyday life these cultural boundaries may perhaps be not as concrete and firm as they appear in nationalist ideologies.

1.4.2 Nationality in the era of globalisation

With the global flows of people over the past few decades, the essentialist view of the nation as linked with a specific territory and culture is being challenged. Gupta and Ferguson (1992: 7) observe that the supposed 'isomorphism' of space, place and culture, together with "the fiction of cultures as discrete, object-like phenomena occupying discrete spaces" are now being problematised. For, there is a shift away from 'fixed' cultures towards more 'permeable' and 'transparent' ones (Anderson, 2002). As Appadurai (1991: 191) asserts, "groups are no longer tightly territorialised, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogeneous".

The work of researchers in the field of British Cultural Studies provides a helpful framework for realising 'community', 'culture' and 'ethnicity' in a different way that

breaks away from conventional notions of ‘continuity’ and ‘homogeneity’ (see Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 1987; 1996; Hall, 1996; Mercer, 1994). For example, Bhabha (1994) provides an understanding of how ethnic minority groups are represented in public discourses of otherness. In these discourses the ideological construction of otherness depends on the concept of ‘fixity’ as a sign of difference in terms of history, culture and race, with the stereotype being its most important discursive strategy. Meanwhile, Gilroy’s (1993) notion of ‘ethnic absolutism’ is significant for preventing the danger of generating ethnic boundaries between the majority group and ethnic minority groups. Ethnic absolutism is, in Gilroy’s words:

“a reductive, essentialist understanding of ethnic and national difference which operates through an absolute sense of culture so powerful that it is capable of separating people off from each other and diverting them into social and historical locations that are understood to be mutually impermeable and incommensurable” (ibid.: 65).

Cohen (1997: 175) points out that nowadays the ‘era of globalisation’ has embraced new approaches of understanding ethnic affiliations that are more open and go “outside and beyond the nation-state”. As Hall (1992) claims, people are able to retain a multiplicity of identities: “we are confronted by a range of different identities, each appealing to us, or rather to different parts of ourselves, from which it seems possible to choose” (ibid.: 303). Furthermore, he highlights the crucial responsibility of globalisation in the construction of ‘new ethnicities’ and ‘new identities’:

“It [globalisation] does have a pluralising impact on identities, producing a variety of possibilities and new positions of identification, and making identities more positional, more political, more plural and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical” (ibid.: 309).

Hall’s concept of ‘cultures of hybridity’ tries to grasp the new kinds of identity developed in the late modernity period in which people maintain associations with their places of origin, cultures, traditions and languages, whilst at the same time, without assimilating and completely losing their identities, they are forced to learn the new cultures they inhabit and speak the new cultural languages (ibid.: 310).

Ethnographic research has provided evidence for such new ethnicities. For instance, Harris (2006) verifies the emergence of ‘Brasian’ ethnicities among youngsters of South Asian descent living in Britain, which are characterised by multilingualism (Harris, 2003).

The importance of superdiversity

Nowadays, in the new era of late modernity, the old version of migration in which people left their home country to migrate to a new one for ever is no longer necessarily the case, and therefore, it is no longer possible to presuppose their migration route. ‘In late modern social conditions’ (Rampton, 2006: 22), the migration flows are radically diversifying (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). Vertovec (2007) observes that this diversification applies to the country of origin of the migrants, their migration channel and legal status, their linguistic, cultural, religious and socio-economic backgrounds as well as their educational experiences. It also pertains to access to employment, migration trajectories, and connections with places of origin and diasporas in other places (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). Obviously, immigrants within the same categories (whether classified by ethnicity, country of origin or other factors) are highly diverse. Vertovec (2006), in an attempt to explain this contemporary situation, coined the term ‘superdiversity’: “By invoking ‘superdiversity’ I wish (...) to underscore the fact that in addition to more people now migrating from more places, significant new conjunctions and interactions of variables have arisen through patterns of immigration” (2007: 1025).

More than just describing the recent diversification of migration flows, superdiversity discourse continues the abovementioned research tradition that I first linked with British Cultural Studies (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). For example, Erel (2011), Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah (2010) and Rampton (2013) have explicitly linked theories about ‘new ethnicities’ and ‘new identities’ into the superdiversity discourse (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). Furthermore, a number of scholars claim that the discourse of superdiversity brings a “new way of talking about diversity” (Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah, 2010: 33; see also Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) beyond the classic dualisms of local versus global, natives versus migrants and national culture versus minority cultures (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014).

For this thesis, the theoretical framework of ‘superdiversity’ is very important, as it provides a more useful way of understanding the current situation in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus than the Hellenocentric framework. Later on in my thesis I focus on a number of immigrant children and the superdiversity framework helps me understand and explain the processes analysed in relation to their languages and ethnicity. I am going to demonstrate this in chapter 6 but here I would like to point out some of the reasons why I believe it is important as an explanatory framework compared to Hellenocentrism. To do so, I take three of my focal participants: Andrei, Samira and Lazaros. The Hellenocentric ideology would think of Andrei as an immigrant from Bulgaria, who now lives in Cyprus and thus needs Greek language tuition. However, in a superdiverse world, we need to understand that his migration trajectory might not be as straightforward as that. Andrei has a mixed background at home and as a result his linguistic and ethnic trajectory involves the English language. On the other hand, the Hellenocentric ideology sees Samira as Muslim Iranian and a Farsi speaker who needs help with the Greek language. However, in practice she left Iran to come to Cyprus at a very young age and therefore she is a significant insider in Greek-Cypriot everyday life. Similarly, Lazaros has spent most of his life in Greek-speaking countries (Greece and then Cyprus) and is an insider in Greek-Cypriot society. Nevertheless, he is not positioned in the Hellenocentric ideology as a ‘proper’ Greek and therefore allegedly needs to attend Greek language lessons.

In sum, nationalist discourses highlighting Greek-Cypriots’ Greek identity and Turkish-Cypriots’ Turkish one in terms of origin, religion, language and culture, continue to be hegemonic in the two Cypriot societies, and the political situation on the island remains unresolved. As has been described in this subsection, by drawing on the beliefs of ‘contingency’ and ‘continuity’, these nationalist ideologies imply the sense of the nation as something permanent, innate and immutable and are thus still maintained and reproduced in both communities (Charalambous, 2009a). However, these old nationalist stances have become increasingly difficult to maintain under the new conditions of superdiversity. Up to this point, I have described how factors outside Cyprus (the nation-building processes in Greece and Turkey as well as the emergence of Greek and Turkish nationalisms) influenced the formation of the Greek and Turkish nationalisms on the island of Cyprus. In addition to these factors,

language and education also performed a significant role and these are examined in the following subsections.

1.4.3 The role of language

As explained in the previous subsection, nations exist when their members imagine themselves as forming a collective group and believe that they share characteristics, such as a specific territory, common historical memories, a shared culture (language, religion) and a common political destiny. The most important characteristic is language. According to Anderson (1991: 154):

“What the eye is to the lover – that particular, ordinary eye he or she is born with – language – whatever language history has made his or her mother tongue – is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother’s knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed of”.

There are two ways in which language is involved in the development of national identity. First, it has the capacity for generating imagined communities, since it operates as a strong bond within communities and builds in particular solidarities. Second, it serves an important boundary making function as it has the ability to exclude those who are unable to speak the community language, by labelling them ‘the other’. Language is instrumental in creating ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ and is often utilised by nationalist ideologies to create ‘imagined communities’ and set up boundaries (Anderson, 1991; May, 2003). In the words of Shohamy (2006: 27):

“while language had been used as a means of communication for groups, it was the emergence of the political entities, especially of the nation-state, but also of other political entities, such as the colonies, that created the situation whereby language turned into a symbol of political and national identity and belonging, often in addition to other symbols of belonging”.

Thus, the creation of a unitary, context-free and standardised language became crucial, with this in turn assisting the creation of a common culture. Furthermore, the association of nation with language also meant that certain language varieties used in

the nation have the gained status and prestige of national language, while others have been devalued and often stigmatised (May, 2001). As Bourdieu (1991: 45) aptly observes:

“The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. Obligatory on official occasions and in official places (schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured”.

As Shohamy (2006: 2) remarks, a fundamental ideology about language itself exists behind the beliefs of linguistic ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’. This ideology views language as a closed and limited entity governed by fixed boundaries and controlled by strict rules of correctness in terms of grammar, lexicon, spelling, syntax, discourse and accent. According to Shohamy (2006: 1):

“Language is commonly viewed by policy makers as a closed and finite system, as it is often used as a symbolic tool for the manipulation of political, social, educational and economic agendas, especially in the context of political entities such as the nation-state. It is in these contexts that languages are used for categorising people, creating group memberships, identities, hierarchies and a variety of other forms of imposition”.

In the process of equating language with nation, language policy and planning has a significant role to perform. It is “the conscious choices made in the domain of relationships between language and national life” (Calvet, 1998: 114) or ‘a discourse on language and society’ (Blommaert, 1996). Both the emergence and dissemination of a standard and national language is an ideological process, that is, it is a process that does not reflect in any significant way the varieties of languages or dialects that people actually use in the nation (Blommaert, 2006). Silverstein (1996) has described this phenomenon as a ‘monoglot’ ideology, which rests on a belief that society is monolingual and denies the existence of linguistic diversity. Also, by linking ‘language-people-country’, the state imposes particular ethnolinguistic identities on its citizens. At the same time, language standardisation is a social process, in view of

the fact that it involves debates and discursive battles amongst the members of a social group with different representations of language (Gal and Woolard, 1995).

Although the significance attributed to language may be different between ethnic groups, Karoulla-Vrikki (2004), investigating language planning during British colonial rule, as revealed in articles in the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot press as well as in the petitions and letters of complaint to the authorities, suggests that “the two ethnic groups perceived language as a prime indicator of their ethnic identity and an indispensable precondition to survival” (ibid.: 19). In addition, she argues that “the two ethnicities’ separate efforts to secure an official standing for their ethnic language and reverse any potential language shift (i.e. from Greek to English by the Greek-Cypriots and from Turkish to Greek by the Turkish-Cypriots), were strongly associated with a determination to control power and ethnic relations and to preserve and foster their ethnic identity” (ibid.). The fact that both communities equated language with ethnicity diverted them from acquiring a bilingual or even trilingual identity between Greek, Turkish and English.

According to Karoulla-Vrikki, the increased salience of the link between language and ethnic identity among the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots during the period of British administration, was certainly influenced by the separate educational systems for each community that implemented the respective curricula of the two ‘mother nations’, Greece and Turkey, and thus, limited the language curriculum to the corresponding ethnic language of the group, either standard Greek or Turkish. Moreover, linguistic identification with Greece and Turkey also meant rejection of the local dialects. As regards the Greek-Cypriot community:

“the consequent extended use of [standard] Greek on the island that would result from the development of Greek education, the circulation of printed material from Greece, university studies in Greece and the transmission of Greek radio channels, was expected to tighten the bonds between Greece and Cyprus” (ibid.: 25).

This, however, as mentioned earlier, created a situation of diglossia in the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus involving SMG and GCD. The same is true for the

Turkish-Cypriot community. Specifically, as Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek (2004: 52) state, during the period that Ataturk's reforms were adopted in Cyprus:

“political campaigns such as *Citizen speak Turkish* aimed at linguistic homogenisation as one of the instruments of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. This process created a situation of diglossia among Turkish-Cypriots” (emphasis as in the original).

1.4.4 The role of education

Educational systems have long attracted the interest of scholars, who study them as important means of reproducing and perpetuating official values, beliefs and cultural identity. According to Heller (1999: 18):

“Schools are important sites of social and cultural reproduction and over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have come under state control in order to accomplish state agendas”.

Bourdieu (1991: 48-49) draws attention to the importance of language within educational systems in reproducing and perpetuating the nation:

“In the process which leads to the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language, the educational system plays a decisive role: ‘fashioning the similarities from which that community of consciousness which is the cement of the nation stems’. And Georges Davy goes on to state the function of the schoolmaster, a *maitre a parler* (teacher of speaking) who is thereby also a *maitre a penser* (teacher of thinking): ‘He [the primary school teacher], by virtue of his function, works daily on the faculty of expression of every idea and every emotion: on language. In teaching the same clear, fixed language to children who know it only very vaguely or who even speak various dialects or *patois*, he is already inclining them quite naturally to see and feel things in the same way; and he works to build the common consciousness of the nation” (emphasis as in original).

When a written school based language is identified as correct in contrast to an inferior conversational language, the educational system directly facilitates an evaluation of popular modes of expression. This often leads to a dismissal of the so-called inferior language while imposing recognition of the apparently legitimate form.

Education has definitely performed a significant role in the formation of Greek and Turkish nationalisms in Cyprus. Both communities used the educational system to impose and maintain the nationalist discourses, which was left to its colonial, segregated structure even after the independence of the country in 1960. The Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot school systems, in their attempt to cultivate the Greek and Turkish national identities of their younger generations, adopted from the first decades of the 20th century the curricula of the two ‘mother nations’, Greece and Turkey, and imported the books and school materials that were used in these countries (Bryant, 2004; Charalambous, 2009a; Gregoriou, 2004; Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004; Philippou, 2007).

Recent research has shown that the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational systems are still used by both communities to maintain the nationalist discourses not only through the curricula and textbooks, but also through extracurricular activities, such as national celebrations and so on (Kizilyurek, 2002; Koutsellini-Ioannidou, 1997; Trimikliniotis, 2004; Yashin, 2002). Numerous studies have also revealed that the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot school systems have performed a major role in the process that has led to the emergence of unfriendliness and hostility among the members of both communities as well as to the cultivation in the younger generations of the concepts of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in relation to identification (Copeaux, 2002; Frangoudaki and Dragona, 1997; Kizilyurek, 2002; Koullapis, 2002; Spyrou, 2002; 2006; Yashin, 2002). Regarding the Greek-Cypriot community, as Spyrou (2006: 95) reports, “the intercommunal conflicts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the 1960s and the Turkish invasion and occupation of 37% of Cyprus’s territory provide a historical context – strategically accentuated through national education – for the formation of the undifferentiated Turk as the most negative ‘other’ for Greek-Cypriot children”. Moreover, he claims that:

“at school, children learn a history that situates the current situation in Cyprus in a larger historical framework cultivated by nationalist historiography: they learn about the history of animosity between Greeks and Turks and see the current situation on the island, with Turkey’s continuing occupation of Northern Cyprus, as another example of a long and essentially unchanging historical pattern, wherein Turks always emerge as the enemy par excellence of the Greek nation” (ibid.: 97).

In his research, Spyrou (2002; 2006) refers to several examples where during history lessons, teachers characterise ‘us’ (the Greeks) as ‘peaceful’, ‘courageous’ and ‘civilised’, and compare ‘us’ to ‘them’ (the Turks), who are labelled ‘warmongers’, ‘cowards’, ‘wild’ and ‘barbarian’. Also, teachers often identify Greeks and Greek-Cypriots with the glorious Byzantine Empire and equate present-day Turkey with the Ottoman Empire. Notably, the idea of equality of identities and the respect for other cultures is been increasingly disappearing.

In the same way, symbols and rituals are used by both school systems to cultivate students’ national identity and build an image of an enemy. For Greek-Cypriot education, such symbols and rituals are the Greek national flag, Greek poems, Greek dances, ceremonies for celebrating national days, visits to the museum of ‘National Struggle’, pictures of Greek heroes from the battle with Turks in 1821, as well as photographs of Greek-Cypriot heroes from the national war against British troops in 1955-59, of villages and churches under the Turkish occupation and also of women and children crying covering the walls in every classroom (see Charalambous, 2009e). According to Yashin (2002), symbols and rituals are a strong weapon for nationalism, since they create emotions, they are the most important encounters with the enemy and they are strong ideological apparatuses in reproducing the system and hence, providing continuity.

Up to this point, I have described how the Hellenocentric ideology has historically developed in opposition to Turkishness as well as explained how deeply embedded Hellenocentrism is in the Greek-Cypriot educational system. Also, the question of language has performed a significant role. In the Greek-speaking part of Cyprus, the educational system and the promotion of SMG within it has performed a crucial role in the reproduction of the notion of a legitimate Greek nation and Greek citizen. The

key part of Hellenocentric ideology that dominates Greek-Cypriot education is Ancient Greek, SMG and the delegitimisation of GCD. This Hellenocentrism is deeply entrenched and is inadequate to meet the needs of the new migration (elaborated later in chapters 6 and 7).

Having illustrated the historico-ideological setting of Cyprus, which is significant as a reference point for understanding in subsequent chapters the GAL policy developed by the Greek-Cypriot MEC and its enactment in primary schools, in the section that follows I consider the extant educational studies pertaining to the Greek-Cypriot community and outline the principal topics that these studies have been concentrated on. This review reveals the very significant gap in the educational scholarly work that my PhD thesis is aimed at filling.

1.5 Research on the education of GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community

Even though in recent years there has been a growth in research on the education of GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community, scholars agree that this issue is largely unexplored (Georgiou and Savvidou, 2014; Symeou and Demona, 2005; Theodorou, 2011a; 2011b). In particular, there is a lack of ethnographic research dealing with the enactment of the Greek-Cypriot MEC's policy concerning parallel classes in primary schools.

Educational studies about GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community have mainly been concerned with compulsory primary and secondary schooling¹⁹ (Angelides et al., 2004; Hajisoteriou, 2012; Hajisoteriou et al., 2011; Theodosiou-Zipiti et al., 2011a). The findings of these studies highlight four key areas: a) the Hellenocentric nature of Greek-Cypriot education; b) Greek-Cypriot pupils' attitudes towards their immigrant peers; c) the academic achievement of migrant students; and d) Greek-Cypriot teachers' perceptions of their immigrant students. In what follows, I take a closer look at each of these areas.

¹⁹ There is only very limited research that has been conducted at the level of college and university on the matter of immigration and education (Georgiou and Savvidou, 2014; Trimikliniotis, 2004).

a) The nationalistic, ethnocentric, Hellenocentric, monolingual and monocultural nature of Greek-Cypriot formal education (see for example Angelides et al., 2004; Trimikliniotis, 2004; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2012). Zembylas (2012), for instance, in his curriculum research regarding the current ideological ethos of the Greek-Cypriot national curriculum for primary education, states that:

“This exploration has led to the conclusion that the curriculum (...) reflects an essentialist and monological conception of the Greek ethnonational culture and identity and thus is very far from multicultural (...) education. In fact, (...) it functions as a powerful tool for maintaining the status quo (...) that crystallises the Greek-Cypriot collective memory rather than legitimising the presence of minority groups” (ibid.: 617).

b) Reports concerning Greek-Cypriot students’ ambivalent attitudes towards minority children and racist incidents against them (see for example Trimikliniotis, 2004; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2012).

c) Research about the academic achievement of migrant students (see for example Papapavlou, 1999; Theodosiou-Zipiti et al., 2011a; Theodosiou-Zipiti et al., 2011b; Theodosiou-Zipiti et al., 2010). Most of the studies dealing with GAL students’ academic performance have employed a quantitative approach. A notable example is Symeou and Demona’s (2005) study on the relationship between bilingualism and immigrant students’ academic results for written Standard Greek by comparison with their Greek-Cypriot classmates in the last two years of primary education. Two language tests were constructed for the purpose of this study and administered to 151 students of which 56 were GAL children in two state primary schools. Also, a questionnaire was created for collecting demographic information about the students’ languages and family situation. In brief, the study showed that the GAL pupils, although in some cases achieved average marks, definitely scored much lower than their Greek-Cypriot peers. Moreover, the study found that two elements appear to be positively correlated with GAL students’ academic success in written Standard Greek: the period of time living in the Greek-Cypriot community and their family’s socioeconomic status. Furthermore, GAL children with at least one parent talking to them in Greek at home, achieved higher results in the language test. The questions then arise: On the basis of what criteria were the language tests developed? Were

they created on the basis of a monolingual and monocultural Greek-Cypriot centred curriculum? How and to what extent does the Greek-Cypriot centred character of the educational system have an impact on the academic performance of GAL pupils? Although the findings from Symeou and Demona's (2005) study are useful, this study has limitations, because GAL students are viewed as a homogenous mass. The diversity of their biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires – which certainly cannot be captured by a mere questionnaire or language test – is not taken into consideration (I talk about this further in chapter 6).

d) Greek-Cypriot teachers' practices and perceptions towards intercultural education (see for example Angelides et al., 2004; Hajisoteriou, 2012; Hajisoteriou et al., 2011; Koutsellini-Ioannidou, 2008; Skourtou, 2008; Valanidou and Jones, 2012). This issue has been primarily examined to date via questionnaires or interviews. For instance, Papapavlou (2005) conducted large-scale quantitative research in order to provide island-wide information regarding teachers' attitudes towards the presence of GAL students in their classes. This scholar's data collection involved a questionnaire administered to all the in-service primary school teachers of the Greek-Cypriot community who had GAL children attending their classes. In brief, the study elicited that while the overwhelming majority of the teachers who took part did not appear to have negative attitudes towards bilingualism, multilingualism and multiculturalism, they viewed them as a problem for the learning of Greek language. Moreover, a large proportion of the teachers considered the further development of the home languages to be the concern of the students' families rather than the school. This exposes the fact that these teachers failed to see their pupils' first languages as linguistic resources and facilitators of additional language development.

Another more recent study (Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007) investigated the extent to which teachers are aware of intercultural education issues, the kind of problems that have arisen due to the increasing number of GAL pupils in Greek-Cypriot primary schools, and the ways Greek-Cypriot students and parents view and respond to children who have different ethnic and cultural identities. The data collection involved a questionnaire administered to the teachers of one primary school. Moreover, a random sample of both Greek-Cypriot and GAL students was interviewed, with some of the parents of these students also being interviewed. As Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou's findings indicate:

“the views expressed by teachers and both groups of pupils show that educational practice treats diversity of non-indigenous pupils as a type of deficiency (...) that needs to be treated quickly so that children can be assimilated before they encounter even more difficulties with the curriculum” (ibid.: 76).

Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou emphasise the lack of clear guidelines from the Greek-Cypriot MEC on how to teach different ethnic minority groups and to the absence of support for these children apart from teaching them the Greek language. Also, they stress the need for in-service training for teachers who work with pupils from ethnic minorities. However, the findings of these studies (Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007; Papapavlou, 2005) are merely founded on the impression of the head-teachers and teachers interviewed. They do not reflect, on close analysis, the actual everyday institutional and classroom practice, and therefore, their findings should be treated with caution.

Furthermore, an examination of the literature showed a paucity of research into the enactment of the Greek-Cypriot MEC’s policy concerning GAL students in primary schools. Papamichael (2009) examined the implementation of intercultural education policy in practice through a qualitative study. Data collection included unstructured interviews carried out with head-teachers and teachers in two urban highly diverse Greek-Cypriot state primary schools. The researcher “did not aim to compare between the schools (...) [but] to provide insights into the policy and everyday practice of intercultural education. (...) The participants commented on aspects related to intercultural education such as teacher training, the curriculum, and teaching resources and discussed their everyday experiences of working in schools with children from a variety of backgrounds” (Papamichael, ibid.: 610-611). As Papamichael (ibid.: 614) concluded:

“it seems that [teachers’] views of diversity, their interpretations of children’s relations, and their understandings of racism in school and [Greek-Cypriot] society are problematic. Ethnic and racial stereotypes, cultural misunderstandings and lack of preparation to work in highly diverse classrooms become obvious in the conversations with the teachers”.

This study aimed to shed light on the everyday practice regarding ‘intercultural education’ policy based only on the impression of the head-teachers and teachers interviewed. Consequently, research that is grounded in a systematic ethnographic analysis of local practice is still needed.

On the whole, this concise review shows that research on the education of GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community has mainly been based on the use of questionnaires (see for example Papapavlou, 1999; 2005; Skourtou, 2008; Symeou and Demona, 2005) or interviews (see for example Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007; Papamichael, 2009; Valanidou and Jones, 2012) and very few studies have been carried out in order to investigate institutional and classroom practice. Moreover, there is scant literature applying ethnographic approaches to research on the education of students with a GAL background in the Greek-Cypriot community (see Angelides et al., 2003; Theodorou, 2011a; 2011b; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). Theodorou (2011b) carried out an ethnographic study concerning migrant students othering their migrant peers in classrooms and at school. Theodorou and Symeou (2013: 354) adopted an ethnographic approach to examine the experiences of indigenous minority pupils of Roma descent and immigrant students with a Greek-Pontian background in the Greek-Cypriot educational context. To my knowledge, there is a lack of educational research that adopts an ethnographic approach and collects naturally occurring data in order to investigate the enactment of the Greek-Cypriot MEC’s policy concerning parallel classes in primary schools. As Angelides (2001) asserts, the research approaches that are adopted in the Greek-Cypriot community often seem to ignore the analysis of practice and calls for educational research to “be sensitive to the situation in individual schools (...) [and to] bring researchers closer to the real life situation and involve them as much as possible in the life of the workplace” (ibid.: 70). My thesis is produced in response to Angelides’s challenge to researchers, and to the noticeable absence of ethnographic research that investigates institutional and classroom practice, in this case, in relation to parallel classes in primary schools. By employing ethnographic tools and working towards an ethnographic perspective, the aim is to examine the enactment of the Greek-Cypriot MEC’s policy concerning parallel classes in primary schools. My thesis is aimed at adding to the small body of work applying ethnographic approaches to research on GAL students.

In recent years there has been a developing concern for researching institutional and classroom practice in relation to the education of GAL students in highly diverse primary schools that belong to the Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP) programme²⁰, but still there are only very few studies on this (see for example Hadjioannou, 2006; Tsiplakou and Georgi, 2008), the key findings of which are summarised below:

1. Schools are allocated extra numbers of teaching hours per week in order to accommodate their GAL students' increased needs for Greek language instruction. The way these hours are used lies on the hands of the school staff. Some schools organised 'induction classes', which function as pull-out programmes for teaching GAL.
2. Most of the GAL students in these schools belong to the Greek-Pontian community.
3. GAL students experience social and educational marginalisation by their teachers and Greek-Cypriot peers.

It is imperative to mention here that when immigrants started arriving in the Greek-Cypriot community, they were concentrated in poorer areas with more affordable rents, which are generally the old city centres (Giannaka et al., 2007; Spinthourakis et al., 2008; Spyrou, 2007). As a result of this situation, there was high concentration of GAL students in one or two particular schools in these areas. However, the GAL population is now no longer confined to these highly diverse schools, for it is spreading across the educational system, which is a relatively new development. As explained above, there is already some background research about schools with a high percentage of GAL students and for that reason I decided not to explore those schools or probe the contrast between a school with a high percentage and a school with a low percentage of GAL children. Instead I chose to concentrate specifically on schools where there are very few GAL students in order to provide insight into a less

²⁰ The MEC initiated in 2004 the Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP) programme, and since then, it has been implemented only in very few schools across the Greek-Cypriot community (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). According to Spinthourakis et al. (2008: 9),

"The policy to create Zones of Educational Priority has been a strategic choice of some European states to fight functional illiteracy and school failure. (...) The schools are located in poorer areas and the majority of the students come from families with low socioeconomic status and a low level of educational attainment. The criteria to determine an area as a ZEP are: 1) a high rate of school failure and functional illiteracy, 2) a high percentage of foreign students, 3) large proportions of drop outs and incidents of violence and delinquent behaviour" (see also Giannaka et al., 2007; Spyrou, 2007).

researched area. In these schools there may be few GAL children but educationally they are no less important. For, there is a tendency among Greek-Cypriot teachers and parents to say that if there are not many such pupils in a school or classroom, then they are not a problem. However, from the perspective of the individual GAL students, the absence of adequate provision is a problem even if their numbers are few.

My thesis is about the misplacement of GAL students in parallel intensive Greek language classes, a phenomenon that to my knowledge has not been identified by previous studies. The children I researched were put into classes to receive intensive Greek language tuition when they were already proficient in everyday spoken Greek like their Greek-Cypriot classmates. Moreover, as pointed out earlier, there has been a long-term problem in Greek-Cypriot schooling concerning the SMG and GCD conflict, which also applies to the children I researched. So far existing research in the Greek-Cypriot community has been based on a linguistic ideology that sees languages as separable. However in the era of superdiversity we must understand and approach the study of language practices in a different way in order to avoid making any assumptions about the language repertoires of individuals. Over the past few years, the attention of researchers in the field of sociolinguistics has moved towards individuals having ‘superdiverse repertoires’ (Blommaert and Backus, 2013). Rampton (2005: 5) describes this process:

“Overall, this broad shift in sociolinguistics can be characterised as a move away from the production of ‘objective-research-on-social-groups-and-their-speech-styles’, towards ‘politically reflexive research on people, communicative practices, and ideological representations’”.

Jørgensen (2012) argues that the current task of researchers is not the previous need to understand how Germans acquire English, but how late-modern individuals adapt to their superdiverse environments and learn language. He coins the term ‘poly-languaging’ to illustrate the linguistically superdiverse behaviours of an ethnically and culturally mixed group of young Copenhageners, which he defines as:

“a view of language based on features. In this view, languages are sociocultural constructions. Speakers use features and not ‘languages’. At

times, this will entail using features which are associated with different languages (...) This does not mean that anything goes – speakers are restricted by sociocultural norms of language behaviour, by dynamics of power and ideology, and by different access to resources” (ibid.: 61-62).

Such a perspective on sociolinguistic research can be better explained by Vertovec’s (2006; 2007) superdiversity theory, described in a previous subsection (1.4.2), rather than the essentialist conceptions of the relationship between people, places and language or the notion of ‘languages’ as separate entities (Blommaert, 2010; Jørgensen, 2012; Pennycook, 2010). This perspective has led to the production of research studies providing evidence of new patterns of code-switching amongst adolescents (see for example Rampton, 2005). The above concepts are important tools for this thesis as they aid understanding of language in a superdiverse educational climate. They help us consider the complexity of linguistic forms by paying attention to linguistic and biographical trajectories in order to understand the composition of an individual students’ language proficiencies and so prevent inaccurate predictions of linguistic behaviour. They also help us understand the mixing of SMG and GCD amongst teachers and students.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the historical and ideological context of Cyprus. It has traced the emergence of the two nationalisms (Turkish and Greek) on the island, and then, highlighted the role of language and education in the creation of the two ethnic/national groups. This is necessary for understanding later the basis of the GAL policy developed by the Greek-Cypriot MEC and the context in which head-teachers and teachers translate this policy into local practice. The issues discussed in this chapter have also helped to provide understanding with regards to how the Greek-Cypriot community perceives its national identity. In addition to describing the historical and ideological context of Cyprus, this chapter has explored the context of migration to the Greek-Cypriot community. This background knowledge will be very significant for understanding later the biographical trajectories of the GAL students who participated in my study. Using anti-essentialist views of ‘ethnicity’, ‘nationalism’ and ‘ethnic/national identity’, the history of opponent nationalisms in Cyprus has been explained.

Finally, a review of previous educational studies in the Greek-Cypriot community has uncovered a significant gap in the educational literature that my PhD thesis is aimed at filling. Despite Greek-Cypriot researchers' growing interest in the issue of the education of GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community during the most recent years, there is limited ethnographic research on the education of GAL students in Greek-Cypriot primary schools. In the next chapter, I am going to explain how my PhD research will address this lacuna and thus, contribute to the educational research about GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCHING ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE IN THE GREEK-CYPRIOT CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the context of Cyprus focusing on the history of conflict between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. I also explained the vast change in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community and its educational system due to the new migration. The discussion was informed by late-modern nationalism literature, cultural studies and by language and superdiversity theory. This was necessary for understanding the context in which my study is positioned, as well as the theoretical stances underpinning my thesis. Moreover, having reviewed, in the previous chapter, the extant educational studies about GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community, it became apparent that most of these have been limited to the use of questionnaires or interviews. Consequently, there have been very few ethnographic studies based on naturally occurring speech and observational data. However, to my knowledge, none of these has examined the enactment of the recent policy text concerning parallel intensive Greek language classes for GAL students in Greek-Cypriot primary schools. In this chapter, I explain how my PhD research project addresses this gap and therefore, contributes to the educational research about GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community.

For the purposes of my study, I carried out qualitative research ‘using ethnographic tools’ to try to develop more of an ‘ethnographic perspective’ (Green and Bloome, 1997) in an attempt to investigate how the policy concerning parallel classes for intensive Greek language learning is translated into local practice. This is along the lines of Ball and his colleagues, who highlight the significance of investigating ‘the context of practice’ using ethnographic methods when examining education policies (Ball, 1993; Bowe et al., 1992). It is also in accordance with scholars (Blommaert and Backus, 2011; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Vertovec, 2007) who call for research on ethnicity and language in the era of superdiversity and globalisation to be strongly embedded in ethnography. In what follows, I explicate the research process

and how I met the challenges that confronted me when accessing the field. More specifically, I:

- i) explain my perception of ‘ethnography’ and how it is used in my study (section 2.2);
- ii) describe my choices of specific methods of data-collection as well as certain sites (section 2.3);
- iii) refer to issues of reflexivity and ethical considerations (section 2.4) as well as transcription (section 2.5).

I would first like to outline some of the specific problems I encountered in trying to carry out ethnographic research in a Greek-Cypriot educational context.

2.1 Problems for the ethnographic researcher in the Greek-Cypriot context

There is a relative lack of an ethnographic tradition in educational research in the Greek-Cypriot context. There are only limited studies using ethnographic approaches to understand educational issues in the Greek-Cypriot community and my PhD research is part of a now developing body of work. Therefore, doing an ethnographic study in terms of conducting “detailed systemic observing, recording, and analysing of human behaviour in specifiable spaces and interactions” (Heath and Street, 2008: 29) – in this case head-teachers, teachers and students in specific schools and classrooms – is something very new to the Greek-Cypriot context. As a result, research participants find it difficult to cope with the idea of taking part in such a study and are reluctant to do so. For example, some of the teachers I approached for co-operation were very negative. They stated that they did not like the selected methodology and characterised my research as ‘unrealistic’. They even asked me to change my methodology as a condition of accepting me in their classrooms (fieldnotes, 15/12/2010).

Another issue is that the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus is very small. It is a small geographical area with a total population of less than a million people.²¹

²¹ According to the 2011 Census, there were around 840,000 people residing in the Greek part of Cyprus. From *Population Census*, 2011 edition, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus

According to statistics released by the MEC in 2015²², there are only 334 Greek-Cypriot state primary schools. The fact that the Greek-Cypriot community is a very small society makes doing ethnographic research extremely difficult for many reasons. One of them is that the research locations may well be easily identified by locals. This issue together with the lack of an ethnographic research tradition makes participants even more nervous and hesitant. Also, even when I managed to recruit participants, the fact that the schools and teachers who could take part in the research and be used as a sample were so small in number, made it a significant challenge to ensure anonymity and protect their identity while writing descriptions of them and their practices.

Moreover, in ethnographic studies researchers spend a considerable time in the field with participants and develop personal relationships with them. In a small society like Cyprus it is very likely that you will see them again after your fieldwork or you might have to work with them in the future. So, for me, finding a way to talk about these people and their practices was very difficult knowing that I will potentially see them again.

Finally, the fact that the Greek-Cypriot community is an extremely small society also means that researchers themselves are known. In my case, both of my parents are prominent people in Greek-Cypriot society: my mother was at the time of my fieldwork a head-teacher in one state primary school and is now a school inspector and my father is a chief editor in the biggest Greek-Cypriot newspaper. This made my participants nervous. They initially worried that I was there to expose them by reporting on their classroom practices to my parents and it was difficult to get them to relax and feel comfortable in my presence. At the same time, the fact that I am a middle class 'white' woman coming from the majority group in the Greek-Cypriot community – the members of which have tended to express negative attitudes towards the presence of immigrants in the country – made it very difficult for me to persuade immigrant parents to allow their children to participate in my research.

(http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_22main_en/populationcondition_22main_en?OpenForm&sub=2&sel=2, accessed on 15/8/2015).

²² From *Statistics of Primary Education*, Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture (http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/katalogoi_sxoleion.html, accessed on 15/8/2015).

Nevertheless, I was able to work within these limitations to produce an ethnographic piece of work but I acknowledge that in another context I would have been able to do more.

2.2 Researching ethnicity and language through an ethnographic approach

In this section, I discuss my choice to undertake qualitative research using ethnographic tools geared towards an ethnographic perspective. I explain why I consider this to be the most suitable research approach for my thesis.

In order to understand the multifaceted nature of ethnicity and language in the era of globalisation and superdiversity, as described in the previous chapter, Blommaert and Backus (2011), Blommaert and Rampton (2011) and Vertovec (2007) call for research to be strongly embedded in ethnography. More specifically, Gregory et al. (2004: 19) argue that ethnographic research is: “a means of making visible cultures that are close to home and distant, that are complex and internally varied, that change, that merge and re-emerge syncretically and are shaped in creative ways by participants”. Conteh et al. (2005) emphasise that ethnographic research is the best way to understand young children’s perspectives. Safford and Drury (2013: 79) take the stance that ethnographic studies on additional language children in educational settings “can more clearly see and understand their knowledge, skills and understandings as learners” and in effect enhance teacher knowledge as well as influence policy and practice. They contend that only by observing, interviewing, recording, listening to and interacting with these children, their families and communities can researchers effectively explore the diverse and complex pathways to language and learning. Jørgensen (2012) and Arnaut and Spotti (2014) point out that sociolinguistics is moving away from the traditional view that language behaviour can be captured by concepts such as monolingualism, bilingualism or trilingualism and by the idea of languages as being separate from each other. They refer to a shift in the discipline that is concerned with the individual’s language competences and his/her superdiverse repertoires comprising a range of ‘styles’ (Rampton, 2011), ‘registers’ (Agha, 2004) and genres (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). Such a perspective on sociolinguistic research is based on ethnographic work

in a range of empirical fields, such as youth language (i.e. Jørgensen, 2010), online cultural practices (i.e. Wang, 2010) as well as formal and informal school or language teaching contexts (i.e. Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

Therefore, I decided to use some of the tools associated with ethnographic approaches, such as participant observation and fieldnotes, in order to examine the enactment of the PIGLLC policy for GAL students in Greek-Cypriot primary schools. I gained access to two schools and started collecting observational data. Then I committed myself to researching up-close and paying attention to individuals through collecting speech data. Taking an ethnographic approach provided me with a greater understanding of the reasons behind the wrong placement of students who were already fluent in Greek-Cypriot dialect in parallel intensive Greek language classes. This would have been very difficult to grasp if I had only used questionnaires or interviews.

Ethnographic approaches can be very useful for examining “people’s behaviour in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behaviour” (Watson-Gegeo, 1988: 576). According to Watson-Gegeo (1988; 1997), the ethnographer’s aim is to describe, explain and interpret what people do in settings (like a community, neighbourhood, school or classroom), the results of their interactions, as well as the meaning they give to what they are doing. Similarly to Watson-Gegeo, Heath and Street (2008: 29) state that ethnography is “a theory-building enterprise constructed through detailed systemic observing, recording, and analysing of human behaviour in specifiable spaces and interactions”. They argue that ethnographers try to understand what actually happens as well as what locals and outsiders believe is happening or happened in the past. It becomes apparent that an ethnographic approach does not seek to produce generalised laws that are applicable in the wider context. Its purpose is to generate detailed and holistic descriptions of phenomena, understand the how and why of situations, and interpret them from a participant-informed perspective (Duff, 2008).

The ethnographic approach is debatably particularly helpful for conducting an empirical examination of parallel classes in Greek-Cypriot primary education and for investigating the dynamic and multifaceted everyday school and classroom practice. Teachers’ classroom teaching and pupils’ classroom learning have been primarily

explored to date in the Greek-Cypriot community via questionnaires or interviews. However, critiques of these research models emphasise that they cannot capture the complexities of everyday school and classroom practice. An ethnographic approach is considered as the most suitable model of research for investigating what actually happens in ‘natural’ settings such as parallel classes, with an emphasis on teachers’ and students’ interpretations of behaviour and their routine practices. It is regarded as the most appropriate way for producing in-depth description, explanation and interpretation of what teachers and students do in GAL classrooms, the outcomes of their actions, and the way they understand what they are doing.

Nevertheless, some scholars criticise ethnography by emphasising that descriptions can never be free from interpretations. Hammersley (1992: 13) stresses that all descriptions are based on the researcher’s standpoint and theoretical assumptions. In descriptions researchers cannot tell all, but rather choose what to include and what to exclude. This choice is determined by their accounts of what happened and what they believe caused it. On the same lines, Clifford (1986) contends that ethnographic descriptions of tribes, societies and communities are not authentic or legitimate representations, but ‘partial truths’:

“Even the best ethnographic texts – serious, true fictions – are systems, or economies, of truth. Power and history work through them, in ways their authors cannot fully control. Ethnographic truths are thus inherently *partial* – committed and incomplete” (ibid.: 7, emphasis as in original).

However, Clifford does not reject the significance of the ethnographic approaches. On the contrary, as he recommends, “a rigorous sense of partiality can be a source of representational tact” (ibid.: 7).

Heath and Street (2008) distinguish between ethnography and ‘qualitative research’. As they explain, even though they may appear similar, the latter is not at all times based “in theoretical perspectives or conceptual frameworks from a particular social science discipline” (ibid.: 29) and therefore is different from ethnography. Moreover, Green and Bloome (1997) have drawn a distinction between ‘doing ethnography’ (which involves meeting the criteria for carrying out ethnography as framed within a discipline like sociology or anthropology) and ‘using ethnographic tools’ (which

involves using methods and techniques usually associated with fieldwork). For them, ‘doing ethnography’ entails a long-term (often lasting a number of years) and in-depth study of a particular group of people using participant observation. Also, it means working or even living with a cultural and social group and, as a result, experiencing the employment, cultural and social practices in their lives. By contrast, ‘using ethnographic tools’ involves merely the utilisation of methods and techniques, such as the use of fieldnotes, open-ended interviews and participant observation (Harris, 2006). Hence, when ‘adopting an ethnographic perspective’ the researcher is taking a stance in between ‘doing ethnography’ and qualitative research, such as a case study. As Green and Bloome (1997) contend:

“by adopting an ethnographic perspective, we mean that it is possible to take a more focused approach (i.e. do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group. Central to an ethnographic perspective is the use of theories of culture and inquiry practices derived from anthropology or sociology to guide the research” (ibid.: 183).

In other words, ‘adopting an ethnographic perspective’ does not entail the rigour that ‘doing ethnography’ implies in terms of scope, length and depth. The former type of study involves concentrating on a small number of specific aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a particular group of people (Harris, 2006).

Taking into consideration these definitions, my research does not fulfil the requirements of a comprehensive ethnography, especially in terms of length and scope. I did not commit myself to staying in the field for numerous years or to looking at all aspects of the everyday life (inside and outside school) of my participants. For, my ethnographic approach focuses on a particular aspect of school life, the parallel intensive Greek language teaching for GAL students, which is influenced by late-modern nationalism literature, cultural theory as well as language and superdiversity theory (see the previous chapter) and uses methods that have been traditionally employed by anthropologists (I expand on this later in section 2.2). As a result, my research can be considered as a qualitative study using ethnographic tools geared towards an ethnographic perspective. According to Blommaert (2007: 684):

“In an ethnographic perspective one should never have to argue for the fact that social events are contextualised, connected with other events, meaningful in a more-than-unique way, and functional to those who perform the practices that construct the event. One should not have to argue for the situated nature of any knowledge of such practices, and consequently, for the importance of *subjectivity* in ethnography (...) And one should not have to argue, consequently, for the fact that ethnographic knowledge is interpretive and hypothetical and escapes any attempt at positivist circumscription” (emphasis as in original).

Taking Blommaert’s words into account, undertaking qualitative research using ethnographic tools to develop an ethnographic perspective allowed me to elicit an account of what was going on in parallel classes from the viewpoint of the participants. The description of what was happening in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 is founded on the experienced lived practice and reality of the teachers as well as the GAL students who took part in my study.

Furthermore, researching everyday school and classroom practice through an ethnographic approach when investigating education policies is also in accordance with the work of several researchers (Ball, 1993; 1994; 1997; Ball et al., 2012; Bowe et al., 1992; Vidovich, 2007). Stephen Ball and his colleagues (Ball et al., 2012) explain that policy texts are not simply received and ‘implemented’ by the various actors in specific educational locations and institutions, but instead, policy understanding and interpretation vary in relation to the resources available, local circumstances, histories and vocational dedication. Looking at educational policies as “textual interventions into practice” (Ball, 1993: 12), Ball and his colleagues (Bowe et al., 1992) suggest that policy investigations should not be limited to policy documents, but rather should be expanded to all the contexts of the ‘policy cycle’: ‘the context of influence’ (where interested parties struggle to influence the construction of a particular policy), ‘the context of policy text production’ (where policy documents are produced to represent policy, although they may often be contradictory) and ‘the context of practice’ (where policy is subject to interpretations and is then ‘recreated’). Ball (1994) integrated ethnography into his educational policy research. For him, this “provides access to ‘situated’ discourses and ‘specific tactics’ and ‘precise and tenuous’ power relations operating in local settings” (ibid.:

2). Using Ball's notion of the 'policy cycle' as an analytical tool, my examination of the PIGLLC policy was extended to all the contexts of the 'policy cycle', even though my focus was on 'the context of practice'. I come back to this in the next chapter.

It is notable that my study has also been informed by both the distinct notions of emic and etic. On the one hand, emic refers to a perspective from within the domain of the analysis, an insider's viewpoint, which incorporates the participants' perspectives as well as interpretation of the behaviour and language they themselves use. On the other hand, etic is the view from the outside, an outsider's viewpoint, which relies upon concepts and analytic language that make sense to researchers and academics (Lett, 1996; Watson-Gegeo, 1988; 1997). As Watson-Gegeo (1997) argues, the analytic approaches encountered in ethnography are, by and large, emic rather than etic. However, Agar (1996: 239-240) calls for emphasis on the blending of the two concepts:

“The problem here is that it is difficult to imagine any ethnographic statement that is not a blend of these. A statement would almost always contain some assumptions about perceptions or intent on the part of group members, but it would also be constructed by the ethnographer in terms of his professional context and goals”.

This point accords with Todorov's (1988) analysis of the relationship between proximity (in which the researcher immerses himself or herself in the local practices and learns to think like the 'natives') and distance (in which the researcher takes a distant view of local practices). This author suggests that it is significant to consider the full axis and not just either/or (ibid).

The issue of emic and etic and proximity and distance in my study is more complicated than it is in traditional ethnographies where the researchers leave their countries in order to become familiar with foreign tribes or communities for the purpose of collecting data, and then return home in order to distance themselves from their subjects for the purpose of analysing the data. In my study, the emic perspective is encountered in my immersion in the school culture in order to understand the situation as my participants' saw it. Owing to the fact that I was born and raised in

the Greek-Cypriot community, I undoubtedly could see the situation from an emic perspective even before embarking on any fieldwork. I have personally experienced the hegemonic Hellenocentric ideology within society and education. I am also well versed in the workings of Greek-Cypriot schools. However, my emic perspective can be considered only partial as I did not have access to a specifically GAL perspective. On the other hand, in my study the etic perspective is captured in my effort to distance myself from my participants' world. After my fieldwork, I returned to London, which provided me with the necessary distance from the world of my participants when analysing the data.

So far, I have explained that my PhD research project is a qualitative study that draws on the tools and the sensibilities of ethnography. In my view, what really happens in Greek-Cypriot primary schools in relation to the educational policy for GAL classes is best investigated by the researcher being there in the context, continually observing, questioning, examining, and analysing the interactions transpiring in the schools and classrooms. As pointed out above, undertaking ethnographically informed work is not a deeply rooted practice in Greek-Cypriot educational research. There are only a few Greek-Cypriot researchers who have taken an ethnographic approach for investigating GAL educational issues and I am aligning my work with theirs (i.e. Angelides, Stylianou, Leigh, 2003; Theodorou, 2011a; 2011b; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013).

2.3 Research design

Having reflected upon my choice to undertake qualitative research using ethnographic tools so as to develop an ethnographic perspective, I now concentrate on the data collection process and explain my choices of specific methods of data-collection as well as certain sites.

2.3.1 Sites for data collection

Carrying out an ethnographic study in terms of conducting detailed systematic observing, recording and analysing of teachers and students' behaviour in specific schools and classrooms is something relatively new to the Greek-Cypriot context. As a result, it was tremendously difficult to get access to schools. Before approaching

the two schools that participated in my study, I tried to get access to other schools, but received either negative replies or no response at all. For example, the teachers I sought co-operation with in another school said they did not like the selected methodology and characterised my research as 'unrealistic'. They even told me I would have to change my methodology before they would accept me in their classes. So, in the end I used some personal contacts, for example, my mother who is a senior educator in Cyprus, to put me in touch with schools. In fact, through them, I was introduced to the head-teachers of the two primary schools in Nicosia I have called Inner City Primary School and Outer City Primary School. These schools did not have all that many GAL students but I deliberately thought it was worth looking closely at small numbers to see what could be learnt about the impact of this policy in such contexts. In fact, I believe that it is because I was studying where the withdrawal of only a few pupils was taking place that I was able to see the phenomenon of misplacement in parallel classes more easily than in other settings with larger numbers of immigrant learners. In some research in the UK, Gaine (1987; 1995; 2005) points to the 'no problem here' attitude among teachers in all-white or mainly white schools, which assumes racism is absent in these schools. In these schools, teachers failed to identify any witnessed incidents as racist but instead characterised it as the isolated actions of individuals and thus avoided addressing the issue. This author argued for the need to develop adequate provision regardless of the location. This tendency of denying that integrating immigrant children is a problem is present among Greek-Cypriot teachers. However, from the viewpoint of the individual GAL students, the absence of adequate provision is a problem regardless of their number in a particular school.

In addition to getting access to schools, recruiting teachers was also very challenging. Although initially I wanted to observe all parallel classes in Inner City and Outer primary schools, only two out of the six relevant teachers in the former were willing to help me with my research by allowing me to attend their class and even then, during my fieldwork one of them withdrew. In Outer City Primary School there was only one parallel teacher, but she was willing to let me attend both of her classes.

My fieldwork lasted five months, taking place from January to May 2011 and hence covered more than the second half of the school year 2010-11. Over the research

period I visited each school two times per week, but during the very early days in the field I went to the schools more frequently. This was because by staying in the schools all day and coming three or four days in a row during the first week, I was able to make myself familiar to the staff and students, thus becoming more integrated into the school environment (see Lareau, 1996). The central body of my fieldwork was carried out in three parallel intensive Greek language classes in the two schools. Two teachers were responsible for these classes, whom I have called Mrs A and Mrs B. As already mentioned, I also undertook some observations in another teacher's parallel class but she withdrew from my research partway through the fieldwork. Nevertheless, the data I collected from this class informed my arguments. In total, 17 GAL students participated in my research but in chapters 6 and 7 I focus on 4 of them in order to analyse them up-close. In addition to this, I also observed some lessons in the GAL students' mainstream classes as well as spent a substantial amount of time in the whole school context, 'hanging out' in the staff room and the playground, talking to teachers and students in the school, and participating in school activities and events. My observations of other aspects of school life helped me understand the school atmosphere and build a broader picture of the situation.

Having talked about the sites of my fieldwork and the time period during which it was conducted, I believe it is important now to describe how I gained access to both Greek-Cypriot primary schools and classrooms. After tracing the two schools through my personal contacts, I approached the head-teachers to request the participation of their schools in my study. More specifically, I wrote to them asking for permission to visit all the parallel classes in their schools for a duration of five months, explaining that this was to learn about teachers and GAL students' experiences in these classes. In my initial communications with the head-teachers I described briefly the goals of my study and the methodology as well as clearly laying out what the participants were being asked to do. I then phoned them and set up a time to talk about my research in person.

After acquiring the consent of the head-teachers, I approached the teachers, who were responsible for parallel lessons, for participation in my research. I first phoned them and then wrote a letter asking for their permission to visit their parallel classes for the proposed five-month period in order to learn about their experiences and find

out how their students were doing in these lessons. In the letter, I also stated that I was planning to observe their parallel classes as well as to interview them.

In addition, I sought permission from the GAL students' parents, writing them a letter concerning my study and what their children were being asked to do. Taking into account that the English language is used as a lingua franca for many immigrants in the Greek-Cypriot community I produced a bilingual letter in Greek and English. I also looked for alternative ways to approach the parents. In particular, I talked to them when they visited the school or phoned them in order to explain the purpose of my research, to ask for consent to observe their children in classrooms. Having received the teachers and parents' consent, I approached the GAL students in parallel classes to explain to them what I intended to investigate. I specifically made clear to them that I was interested in their experiences in the parallel classes and the school in general. I also spelt out to them that their participation in my research involved observing them in their classes. The fact that a few GAL students (4) and some immigrant parents either could not speak or spoke limited Greek or English created some difficulties. In those cases, I provided interpretation and translation of the information sheets and consent documents for them. I did this either by using the English language or by looking for interpreters inside or outside the school, who were usually bilingual students or other immigrant parents who spoke their languages as well as Greek or English.

2.3.2 Methods and techniques

In the previous subsection, I have described the particular sites where my fieldwork took place and the time period during which it was conducted. I have also explained how I gained access. In this subsection, I present the techniques and methods which were used for data collection. These methods are typically associated with ethnographically informed fieldwork. Problems that were encountered during my fieldwork are also discussed and explanations regarding how I dealt with them are provided.

a) Participant observation

According to Harklau (2005: 180):

“the hallmark of ‘classical’ ethnographic methodology is participant observation. This traditionally has meant residing or spending considerable lengths of time interacting with people in everyday naturalistic settings”.

Although I did not commit myself to staying in the field for a number of years, something that has traditionally been considered as one of the main practices of comprehensive ethnography, in my study participant observation was especially important because it allowed me to experience first hand the lesson practices taking place in the parallel classes. This was employed in four parallel classes in two Greek-Cypriot state primary schools where GAL students received a year’s intensive instruction in the Greek language. The role I established in the classrooms was that of teacher’s aide as this allowed me access to students during the lessons to help with schoolwork as well as during the breaks. I was also granted access to staff rooms and thus, to teachers. In addition, I believe that, rather than watching the courses from the rear of the classroom, my role as the teachers’ aide made it easier for me to observe the participants at close quarters.

Despite being one of the main methods employed in ethnographic research, scholars have stressed some weaknesses of participant observation. Duff (2008: 138), for example, states that when teachers and students are aware of being observed and recorded by a stranger then they “may be on their best behaviour, may avoid unpleasant disciplinary actions or outbursts, may be better prepared to participate in discussions than usual, or may avoid certain topics”. However, scholars also argue that ‘neutral’ observation does not exist. As Ball (1983: 89) points out, “the researcher is a social being no less than the researched, doing fieldwork is a social process with its own career structure, objective and subjective”. Along similar lines, Duff (2008) maintains that in participant observation the researcher plays a social role at the research site (like student, teacher, co-worker, or a co-participant within the local culture). The researcher, by participating as a social being with a social role in the situation under examination, is part of this situation and as a result affects it. The solution these authors recommend is not ignoring this unavoidable feature of participant observation, but to the contrary, suggesting that researchers should

consider the effect their presence has on the unfolding interactions and be aware of the fact that by being there the very activities or behaviours of greatest interest to them may be altered in some way (consciously or not).

Being aware of the abovementioned weaknesses of this method and in an effort to overcome the problems, I spent considerable time prior to recording the lessons (2-3 months) building rapport with the teachers and pupils in the classes and hence, giving time to my participants to become accustomed to my presence. Being a regular participant in the classroom environment, both students and teachers became more accustomed to my presence and hence, were more relaxed, which enabled my impact to be minimised. It is significant to state here that, in order to make the teachers who participated in my research feel comfortable, I made clear to them that I was not there to criticise their teaching. I also believe that my role as their aide helped them feel less threatened by my presence in their classes. With regards to the students, I tried to make them feel comfortable and not threatened by telling them that I was interested in their experiences in parallel classes and the school in general. On the whole, I observed 24 hours of parallel lessons. Apart from the parallel classes, I also spent some time observing mainstream lessons; 5 hours and 20 minutes of mainstream lesson observations in total. In addition, as mentioned above, I observed the school life by spending time in the staff room with the teachers and in the schoolyard with the children as well as by participating in school activities, events, celebrations, visits etc.

As Bernard (2002) explains, “participant observation involves immersing yourself in a culture and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion so you can intellectualise what you’ve seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly” (ibid.: 344). These words prompted me to think about the way I was going to record my observations as well as thoughts on these and this is discussed in the next subsection.

b) Fieldnotes

Heath and Street (2008: 76) remark that “the history of social, cultural, and linguistic anthropology resides largely in fieldnotes of individual ethnographers”, and in fact, taking fieldnotes is regarded as a typical ethnographic practice for capturing the ethnographer’s observations and accounts of interactions during the fieldwork. In a previous section (see section 2.1), I briefly referred to criticisms of ethnography, which highlight that any description or representation of a particular community is certainly not free from interpretation. This is also true for fieldnotes and hence, when it came to the analysis, they were used as data complementing the lesson-recordings and definitely not as authentic descriptions of what happened in the field. Of course this does not deny the value of taking notes and documenting observations from the field, for as Lareau (1996: 219) observes “fieldwork without notes is useless and destructive”. Talking about the trials and tribulations she faced as a graduate student when engaging in her field study, Lareau describes her experience of trying to take notes during a lesson observation:

“I only tried that once in Mrs Walters’ class. The room was too small to accommodate a desk for me so I had to write on my lap; and I was only two or three feet away from the children’s desks so my note-taking distracted them” (ibid.: 209).

In fact, continuous note-taking is often deemed by participants as being distracting. Bearing this in mind, during the lesson observations, I only took short notes which acted as aide memoires. Since all state primary schools in the Greek-speaking community of Cyprus work from 7.45am to 1.05pm, I used the afternoons to write extensive fieldnotes. I endeavoured to make detailed notes of what had happened, along with any ideas or thoughts that came out from these reflections, immediately after I left the site, regardless of how difficult this was. As Lederman (1990, cited in Heath and Street, 2008: 68) aptly observes:

“Fieldnotes are hard to think and write about: they are a bizarre genre. Simultaneously part of the ‘doing’ of fieldwork and of the ‘writing’ ethnography, fieldnotes are shaped by two movements: a tuning away from academic discourse to join conversations in unfamiliar settings, and a tuning back again”.

In total, my observations from the parallel lessons were documented as fieldnotes on 160 pages of single spaced A4 paper. I also undertook mainstream lesson observations, documented in 30 pages of fieldnotes and my school observations outside the classrooms were recorded on 35 pages.

c) Audio-recording with digital voice recorders

Lareau (1996) argues that the drawback of having an active role as teachers' aide in the classrooms, as she observed, was that she could not take notes. A method of transcending this is by using an audio-recorder, which "helps preserve the linguistic character of interactions" (Duff, 2008: 139). This allows the researcher to take part in the situation without worrying about writing details. The number and standard of data collected during such observation is also enhanced by the employment of recording devices. For my study, I used audio-recordings during both the classroom observations and the interviews with the teachers. Digital audio recorders were used because data could more readily be uploaded to a computer for replay, transcription, analysis and presentation (Duff, 2008). In order to persuade the teachers and students to agree being recorded, I told them that their names would be confidential and make them anonymous. In total, of the 24 hours of parallel lesson observations, 4 hours and 40 minutes were recorded using digital voice recorders. Regarding the mainstream lessons I observed, 3 hours and 20 minutes of the 5 hours and 20 minutes were audio-recorded. The reason why I have so few hours of recordings is that, even though I could observe and take fieldnotes, I had to compromise on the number of hours of actual recordings to accommodate the wishes of the participants. Also, one of the teachers of the four parallel classes did not agree to be recorded at all during her lessons. Furthermore, I conducted 3 hours and 44 minutes of interviews with head-teachers and teachers, which were also recorded.

d) Interviews

As Harklau (2005: 180) states:

"Ethnographers typically conduct informal interviews with informants in the setting entailing open-ended questions that evolve *in situ*. More formal interviews, consisting of a schedule of questions, may be conducted as the research continues".

In accordance with this perspective, I endeavoured to have regular informal conversations with the head-teachers and the parallel teachers as well as other teachers in the school during the research period. Furthermore, I decided not to hold the more formal interviews with the two teachers in the parallel classes and with the head-teachers until towards the end of my fieldwork. The informal conversations were documented in my fieldnotes, whereas the interviews were recorded.

Bernard (2002: 213) recommends that “the personal rapport you build with close informants in long-term fieldwork can make highly structured interviewing – and even semistructured interviewing – feel somehow unnatural”. Taking his words into account, the more formal interviews I carried out with the two parallel teachers as well as the two head-teachers all had a conversational style. Furthermore, they were conducted subsequent to spending a considerable time with the teachers in the classes, staff rooms and schoolyards, and only after all of them had become familiar with me and thus, were able to feel comfortable. In the course of the interviews I encouraged the teachers to talk about their experiences of teaching GAL as well as to reflect upon the pupils in these classes. In the interviews with the head-teachers, I primarily concentrated on their reflections about the policy of introducing parallel intensive Greek language classes as well as on their experiences in relation to the translation of this policy into practice in their schools. My questions and prompts were formulated in an open-ended way, such that it was clear to the participants that I was not there to ‘get answers’ to a prepared question schedule, but rather to listen to their views. When interviewing them I had some broad themes that I was interesting in talking with all of them about, but as pointed out above, the interview took a more conversational style than a formal interview.

Although a great emphasis has been placed by researchers on the important value of the data obtained from interviews, there are several authors who reject the idea of open-ended interviews “as capturing the ‘genuine voices’ of interviewees” and “as a means of discovering and revealing secret personal realities behind public facades” (Hammersley, 2003: 119). It is instead argued that they are ‘communicative practices’ and ‘social products’ (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002: 11). Consequently, Duff (2008: 133-134) maintains that it is important for researchers:

“to recognise that a research interview is a ‘construction’ or joint production by interviewer and interviewee (...) it produces a version of truth, a snapshot of competence or of ideas elicited for a specific purpose in a particular space and time. The data are generated by means of social interaction between interviewer and interviewee and cannot necessarily be taken as decontextualised, independent facts or observations. Each interview has, and is, its own discourse context, which also evolves over the course of the interview”.

Taking into consideration these shortcomings, ethnographic observations, fieldnotes and lesson-recordings provided the centre of my data, while the interviews were employed as data complementing and enriching the ethnographic classroom data.

Regarding the GAL pupils, apart from 15 minutes of discussion sessions with whole class during which I asked them to talk about their experiences in parallel classes and in the school in general, I did not interview them because I thought they would be uncomfortable. My contact with the GAL pupils occurred in informal conversations, which gradually led to their perspective on their experiences unfolding and I endeavoured to record the informal conversations I had with them in my fieldnotes immediately after the interactions.

e) Written materials

Samples of schoolwork, homework as well as school records were also collected. Moreover, photographs of visual displays from both inside and outside the classrooms in which my research was carried out were collected. Kress et al. (2005) argue that the writing materials as well as the spatial organisation and visual displays of the classroom are crucial components in the construction of the lesson along with the shaping of relations between teachers and students. The material aspects of classrooms also work as signs of the previous lessons that a teacher has produced. Taking these authors’ opinion into account, photographed copies of writing materials, including teaching materials used during the lessons, students’ writing, teachers’ comments, and materials on classroom walls, were collected from the classrooms in which my study was conducted. Specifically, I took photographs of these writing materials, the spatial organisation of the classrooms and visual displays therein. A summary of data collection can be found in appendix 2.

2.4 The role of the researcher

Having described in detail my choices of specific sites where I carried out my fieldwork and methods of data collection for my research, in the subsequent subsections I concentrate on the issues of reflexivity and ethical considerations.

2.4.1 Being reflexive

Harklau (2005: 188) points out that ethnographic work should take a reflexive stance owing to the fact that the researcher's ethnicity and linguistic background are crucial in terms of what ethnographic data are collected and how they are analysed. Furthermore, Watson-Gegeo (1988: 578) maintains that "ethnographic data collection begins with a theoretical framework directing the researcher's attention to certain aspects of situations and certain kinds of research questions" and thus, the role of the researcher's theoretical assumptions in directing ethnographic observation and interpretation needs to be acknowledged. Foley (2002: 473) takes a quite different stance by arguing that "to make ethnography at least quasi-objective, one has to become much more reflexive about *all* ethnographic practices – from field relations and interpretive practices to producing texts" (emphasis as in original). He acknowledges that reflexivity is a very 'slippery' term and tries to define its meaning by differentiating between four types, which he argues need to be taken into account when conducting ethnographic research: 'confessional or autobiographical reflexivity' (in which the road to quasi-objective knowledge claims is through the researcher's positioning of himself/herself in the study and a critical awareness of his/her limits as interpreter; similar to what Harklau points out), 'theoretical reflexivity' (in which the researcher should pay particular attention to how the practices and discourses of his/her own discipline affect what and how he/she thinks and writes; similarly to what Watson-Gegeo maintains), 'intertextual reflexivity' (in which the ethnographer needs to be self-conscious about his/her narrative and representational practices), and 'deconstructive reflexivity' (in which the ethnographer should be radically sceptical about the stability and utility of all theoretical constructs and thus, all the attempts by scientists to represent reality).

My study has a certain level of ‘confessional or autobiographical reflexivity’. By this I mean that I took into serious consideration the possible effects on my interactions with the immigrant students of the fact that I come from the majority group in the Greek-Cypriot community, the members of which have tended to express negative attitudes towards the presence of immigrants in the country. In being a Greek-Cypriot and wanting to talk to immigrant children, I was aware that they might have thought that I was not capable to comprehend their lives and as a result not wish to talk to me about their experiences. Thus, when analysing the data gathered from my informal conversations with the GAL pupils, I have paid careful attention to how the children’s replies may have been affected by this factor (see Harris, 2006).

2.4.2 Ethical considerations

Before I started carrying out my fieldwork, I obtained approval from the King’s College Research Ethics Panel. I also obtained the Greek-Cypriot MEC’s permission to conduct my research. During my fieldwork, I followed the BAAL (British Association of Applied Linguistics) ethical guidelines in terms of participant recruitment, obtaining informed consent and ensuring the privacy of the people who provided me with data. I informed all of my participants that their involvement in the research, in terms of their being observed, interviewed and audio-recorded, was voluntary at all times. Moreover, I obtained informed consent from all of them. In order to overcome the hesitation of some participants to sign the consent form, especially immigrant parents, I clearly explained to them its meaning and necessity. Also, by my being in the schools, the teachers, students and parents had the opportunity to get to know me. As a result, I gained their confidence and led to them overcoming any initial reluctance they had to signing the consent form. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, I used pseudonyms for the schools in which my research was carried out as well as for all the participants.

2.5 A short note on transcription

Transcription has been termed a social act where “transcribers fix the fleeting moment of words as marks on the page, they call up the social roles and relations constituted in language and rely on their own social evaluations of speech in deciding how to write it” (Roberts, 1997: 167-168). It has also been described as a

‘mechanism for the representation of speech’, whereby “transcribers bring their own language ideology to the task” (ibid.: 168). For analysing the data in this study, I transcribed the lesson-recordings and interviews in Greek, thus retaining – as far as possible – the links to the oral discourse forms (‘denaturalised transcription’ - Bucholtz, 2000). Subsequently, I translated the excerpts that were employed as instances into English. Concerning translation, this was performed by myself and I did my best to maintain the English translation, as far as possible, true to the original. Some of the times I deliberately offer the episodes in a dual language version of what was said in both Greek and English in order to capture the flavour of how the person spoke. In appendix 3 (page 308), there are the transcription conventions that I have employed.

Conclusion

In chapter 1, I presented a concise review of previous studies on GAL students in the Greek-Cypriot community and pointed out that most of them have been based on the use of questionnaires or interviews. There are only a few ethnographic studies and my study aims to add to these. In this chapter, I have explicated how I developed my own ethnographically informed approach. Along the lines of several scholars’ call for research on ethnicity, language and language learning in the era of globalisation and superdiversity to be strongly embedded in ethnography, for the purposes of my study I employed ethnographic tools (participant observation, fieldnotes and lesson-recordings) in order to try to develop an ethnographic perspective. As argued, I committed myself to researching up-close and paying attention to individual teachers and students in three parallel classes in two primary schools for a duration of five months. In this chapter, I have also described complications and constraints that I came across during my fieldwork, as well as explained my rationale behind the ways I dealt with them.

Having discussed, in this chapter, the specific methodology that directed the data collection process throughout my fieldwork, in the next chapter I will carry out documentary analysis of the MEC’s GAL policy texts.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRODUCTION AND CIRCULATION OF THE POLICY DOCUMENT FOR PARALLEL INTENSIVE GREEK LANGUAGE LEARNING CLASSES

3.0 Introduction

Ball (1997) points out that the policy process begins before the policy text is sent to schools for implementation and the text development involves a process rather than a static moment. The texts themselves are the products of compromises, influences and struggles:

“it is crucial to recognise that the policies themselves, the texts, are not necessarily clear or closed or complete. The texts are the products of compromises at various stages (at points of initial influence, in the micropolitics of legislative formulation, in the parliamentary process and in the politics and micropolitics of interest group articulation). They are typically the cannibalised products of multiple (but circumscribed) influences and agendas. There is ad hocery, negotiation and serendipity within the state, with the policy formulation process” (ibid.: 16).

Following Ball’s view, I argue that behind the policy document for PIGLLC lies a dynamic process of pressures for policy and struggles to influence its construction. With the development of the policy text for PIGLLC, the Greek-Cypriot Government has tried to respond to pressures from EU policies about demonstrating commitment to human rights for ethnic minorities, immigrants and their children, as well as promoting intercultural education. This policy document, which was produced and circulated to schools in 2008, is nested inside an ongoing discourse surrounding intercultural education, which began in the late 1990s and early 2000s in order to prepare Cyprus for EU accession in 2004. I have decided to use the term ‘symbolic policy’ to describe the Greek-Cypriot policy for parallel classes, signifying that it has come about as a response to external pressure rather than being generated from

internal discourses. However, it has only responded superficially because the requirement for Greek-Cypriot primary schools to establish parallel classes is actually only funded by the mere allocation of extra teaching periods per week.

Moreover, the relation that a policy document has to others surrounding it, what Ball and colleagues call ‘intertextuality’, is important (Bowe et al., 1992). Reading the policy for PIGLLC against the ‘Hellenocentric ideology’ that dominates the Greek-Cypriot educational system, reveals again its symbolic dimension. It would appear that the notion of ‘intercultural education’ that the MEC claims it has ‘adopted’ cannot be accommodated by the traditional ‘Hellenocentrism’ of the curriculum and educational system. The fact that the policy was developed as something extra to regular school life and on the margins of the mainstream reveals that the ‘Hellenocentric’ character of the curriculum has been left untouched.

Although the title of this chapter indicates a focus on the production and circulation of the MEC’s document on parallel teaching within Ball’s framework, in chapter 4 I am going to deal in more detail with what is included in this document. The content of the PIGLLC policy document as well as how this content was received by the two institutions will be the focus later on in the next chapter. In this chapter, what I want to do is to show how this document is situated within compromises, influences and struggles that led to its production and circulation. I am focusing on this as I consider it important to understand the discourse that surrounded this document and its relationship to the EU.

In this chapter, drawing on the analysis of MEC’s policy texts and EU documents, I examine how the policy for parallel classes came about. However, I first want to refer to the ‘policy cycle’ model developed by Stephen Ball and his colleagues (Ball, 1993; 1994; Ball et al., 2012; Bowe et al., 1992) as this has influenced the organisation and shape of some of my later chapters (4, 5 and 6).

3.0.1 The importance of Ball’s ‘policy cycle’ model in shaping the analysis chapters

According to Ball (1994: 10), “policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended”. Defining educational policy as such,

Ball and his colleagues (Bowe et al., 1992: 6-23) propose that it can be understood as a dynamic cycle through three main contexts: the context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context of practice.²³ Studies about educational policies must take into account all three contexts, which I briefly describe below.

- 1) *'The context of influence'* – This has to do with dynamics within the society, which shape the production of the educational policy. It is here that different ideological and political parties struggle to influence the construction of policy discourses. It is here that policy discourses are supported or challenged in the public arenas, especially through the mass media (Bowe et al., 1992: 19-20).
- 2) *'The context of policy text production'* – According to Ball and his colleagues (Bowe et al., 1992: 20-21), policy documents represent policy and these representations are captured in several forms. For instance, they can be expressed in 'policy documents', 'official legal texts', commentaries and public speeches by officials, etc. As they also argue, educational policies "have to be read with and against one another – intertextuality is important" (ibid.: 21).
- 3) *'The context of practice'* – As Ball and his colleagues (Bowe et al., 1992: 21-22) suggest, educational policies are interpreted and 'recreated' by the different head-teachers and teachers in schools because their histories, understandings, experiences, values, desires, purposes, interests, the means available to them and their preferred ways of working differ. Therefore, we cannot assume or predict how a particular educational policy might be acted out. Ball (1993: 12) points out that: "Action may be constrained differently (even tightly) but it is not determined by policy. Solutions to the problems posed by policy texts will be localised and should be expected to display ad hocery and messiness".

In line with Ball and his colleagues, I examine the policy for parallel intensive Greek language classes and the misplacement of students in these classes by considering all three contexts of the 'policy cycle'. However, the main focus is on the 'context of practice', which is analysed in chapters 4 (head-teachers and institutional

²³ In his 1994 book, Ball added two more contexts to the notion of the 'policy cycle'. These are 'the context of outcomes' and 'the context of strategies', which relate policies to existing social inequalities.

enactments), 5 (teachers and classroom approaches), 6 and 7 (GAL students). This context was researched by undertaking qualitative research using ethnographic tools geared towards an ethnographic perspective (as described in the previous chapter). The ‘context of influence’ and the ‘context of policy text production’ is the focus of this chapter, which:

- i) explores pressures of EU discourses (section 3.1);
- ii) examines Greek-Cypriot policy texts (section 3.2); and
- iii) examines the PIGLLC policy text in particular in relation to the ‘Hellenocentrism’ of the curriculum and educational system in Greek-speaking Cyprus (section 3.3).

These two contexts need to be discussed in order to situate the work presented in the empirical chapters pertaining to the ‘context of practice’.

3.1 ‘The context of influence’ – Symbolic policy

I use the term ‘symbolic policy’ to describe the Greek-Cypriot policy for PIGLLC acknowledging that it has come about as a response to pressures. According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010: 9):

“Symbolic policies are often political responses to pressures for policy. They usually carry little or no commitment to actual implementation and usually do not have substantial funding attached (...) They also tend to have vague, ambiguous and abstract goals statements and lack well thought-through implementation strategies”.

Of course this is not to deny the effects of symbolic policies, because often their existence can legitimise particular political views (Rein, 1983: 131; Rizvi and Lingard, *ibid.*). With the development of the policy for parallel language classes, the Greek-Cypriot MEC has tried to respond to pressures from EU policies about human rights for minorities. However, it has only done so superficially as will become apparent in the following subsection.

3.1.1 EU pressures

Within the framework of human rights for minorities, the European Union and the Council of Europe have paid considerable attention to the education of children from ethnic minority and immigrant families. For example, the 1995 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe, 1995) declared that: “The Parties undertake to promote equal opportunities for access to education at all levels for persons belonging to national minorities” (Section II, Article 12(3): 1488). This was a ‘strong’ and ‘legally binding’ treaty for the member-states (Troebst, 1998; Tsilevich, 2001). Furthermore, the Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Union, 2000) promotes non-discrimination based on ethnicity and language as well as respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity:

“Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited” (Article 21).

“The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity” (Article 22).

Since the adoption of the Tampere Programme in 1999, policy concerned with the integration of third-country nationals has developed. In 2004, the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy was agreed upon as a framework for policy development and in 2010, the European Commission’s 2005 Common Agenda on Integration was completed. In the integration process, the promotion of inclusive education has been one of the key policy actions. Moreover, after the findings of the 2010 Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion revealed educational disadvantage and early school leaving amongst immigrants, the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (‘ET 2020’) set the education of immigrants as one of its priorities.

In addition to the above policies, the EU designated the year 2008 as the ‘European Year of Intercultural Dialogue’, thus trying to draw to the attention of those living in Europe, in particular young people and children, the importance of respecting

cultural diversity, understanding the contribution of different cultures to dynamic European societies, and engaging in intercultural dialogues in their daily lives (European Union, 2006). Furthermore, the EU adopted the Green Paper ‘Migration and Mobility: challenges and opportunities for EU education systems’ (European Commission, 2008). In doing so, it acknowledges the widely shared challenge for European educational systems to provide equitable education, whilst catering for the needs of a growing number of children from a migrant background who face linguistic and cultural differences and are in a weak socioeconomic position, thus leading to deepening social divisions, inter-ethnic conflicts and cultural segregation. This document lists findings from earlier studies (i.e. the Programme for International Student Assessment/PISA and the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study/PIRLS), which reveal that in general immigrant students scored lower on tests than their local peers, and in some countries, such as Germany, second-generation children scored lower than the first-generation (Hajisoteriou et al., 2013c). The Green Paper goes further to identify the most appropriate policies and approaches for addressing the educational challenge. More specifically, these include: provision that promotes the learning of the host language as key to integration; learning of the heritage language²⁴ as valuable for the self confidence of children of migrants, their future employability and an eventual return to the country of origin; and the development of teacher training to support such teaching. Lastly, the document identifies intercultural education as the best way to address the educational challenge:

“Intercultural education in no way needs to weaken the primary focus on the identity, values and symbols of the host country. It involves above all building mutual respect, developing understanding of the negative effects of prejudices and stereotypes and cultivating the ability to take different viewpoints, while increasing knowledge of and seeking respect for the core values and fundamental rights of the host society” (European Commission, 2008: 11-12).

²⁴ Jørgensen (2012) contends that European documents and declarations reveal important ideological ways of thinking about language in European societies. These ways of thinking rely on the concept of languages as separable entities and have significant consequences for language and education policies pursued by member states. The author explains that this linguistically narrow perspective as well as traditional terms, such as ‘monolingual’ and ‘bilingual’, do not capture the real-life language learning and behaviours of speakers in their superdiverse circumstances.

The introduction of the Green Paper confirms that the educational integration of immigrant students is not only a national concern but also an EU one.

It is important to consider the EU's impact on policies of member states including educational policies regarding immigrants. As Hix (1999: 3) argues, "the EU is now more a 'political system' than an international organisation". He explains that the impact of the EU on decision-making in member states is profound, as well as on the establishment of common values and norms in Europe through a wide range of policies including equal opportunities legislation and the emerging policies against racism and xenophobia. Batelaan and Coomans (1999) arrive at a similar conclusion when creating a compilation of relevant legal texts adopted by governments of European and international organisations, such as the Council of Europe, most of which belong to the category of human rights. They report that they "contain references to the promotion of intercultural education" (ibid.: 5) as well as emphasising the importance of educational provision "for the integration of migrant workers and their families in the states of employment" (ibid.: 7). In doing so, Batelaan and Coomans have put forward the message that these legal texts not only include lofty ideas but also comprise concrete commitments.

The abovementioned policies, and perhaps more that are not mentioned here, have had consequences for the educational policies pursued in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. The discourse about educational support for migrant students and provision in diverse school environments only appeared on the agenda of Greek-Cypriot politicians during the final stages of negotiations with the EU on Cyprus' entry. The government's attempts to promote intercultural education in the domain of Greek-Cypriot state education have been linked with efforts to adopt EU discourses of interculturalism (Hajisoteriou, 2010; 2013; Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 2013b; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013; Trimikliniotis et al., 2012). According to Hajisoteriou (2013: 111):

"Influenced by the still-nascent European developments and by other contemporary socio-political factors, such as Cyprus's accession to the EU, intercultural education became an important part of the state's rhetoric (...) Europe has come to play an important role in the development of Greek-

Cypriot intercultural policy by becoming a mechanism of pressure for educational change”.

The three reports on Greek-Cypriot education carried out by the inspectors of European Commission on Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 1999; 2001; 2006) stressed the absence of understanding of and sensitivity to human rights issues among teachers (Zembylas, 2010a). The ECRI inspectors recommended that the Greek-Cypriot authorities train teachers for teaching in multicultural classrooms and include human rights issues in curricula (Trimikliniotis, 2004). Furthermore, under the title “Access to public services – Access to education”, the second ECRI report “encourages the authorities to ensure that the provision of Greek as a second language meets the demands of the immigrant community and that teachers are properly trained in this respect” (ECRI, 2001).

The first reference to intercultural education by government officials of the MEC (Dr. M. Rousou and E. Hatzigianni-Yiangou) was in a document entitled “Διαπολιτισμική Αγωγή και Εκπαίδευση στην Κύπρο-ΔΙ.Α.ΕΚ” (Intercultural Education and Schooling in Cyprus) in 2001, which calls for:

“education which prepares people for the social, political and economic situations that they will have to face in a multicultural society and at the same time offer them the opportunity to develop the necessary abilities for critical thought and way of behaviour in various cultural/social environments, aiming to create such circumstances which will *help the other-language children to become naturally and evenly integrated in the Greek-Cypriot Public School*, giving them, at the same time, *opportunities to develop and nurture their own language and civilization*” (Rousou and Hatzigianni-Yiangou, 2001: 27, cited in Trimikliniotis et al., 2012: 16, translation, my emphasis).

Although this was not a policy text, it established the policy goals and guidelines as well as set the basis for all the subsequent policy documents (circulars) (Trimikliniotis et al., 2012). The statement above clearly draws on EU discourses

regarding intercultural education, integration of immigrant children as well as the development and cultivation of their home language and culture²⁵.

Since 2001, the MEC has published and sent to primary schools various circulars, constructing in this way the Greek-Cypriot official discourse regarding intercultural education (see for example MEC, 2002a; 2004; 2007; 2008a). Especially in 2008, which was chosen by the EU as the ‘European Year of Intercultural Dialogue’, various circulars were sent to schools encouraging them to participate by organising activities on this issue (see for example MEC, 2008b). Two examples of the MEC’s discourse can be seen below: the first comes from its annual educational report published in 2003 (document 3.1); and the second from a public speech in 2009 by the at-the-time Minister of Education announcing the setting up of PIGLLC.

Document 3.1

7.1.2 INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

(...) The Cyprus MEC adopts a clear policy with regards to the education of other-language children in order to *facilitate their smooth integration into the [Greek-]Cypriot educational system and not their assimilation*. The aim of the policy is to provide a supportive and differentiated education that helps children of repatriated and immigrant people to *learn Greek in order to be able to communicate effectively and integrate smoothly into the society*. The MEC’s aspiration is the *protection of the freedom and rights of all members of the [Greek-]Cypriot society from any racist discrimination or the tendency to social exclusion*. To respond effectively to the distinctive educational and social needs of other-language children, the MEC has developed the official policy of ‘intercultural education’. (...)

(MEC, Annual Report 2003: 57-59, my translation, my emphasis)

Document 3.2

(...) We are providing to the other-language students the *right of enrolment and free attendance in public schools of Cyprus*, at all levels of primary, secondary and secondary technical education, since *our educational system does not discriminate against race, community, language, colour, religion, political or other beliefs and also against the ethnic origin of students*. (...) we have developed a completed and cohesive policy for the integration of other-language students (...) The general aim of the MEC’s policy is to *prevent social exclusion of the other-language students*, which is also one of the general aims of this school year, and to *facilitate their integration into [Greek-]Cypriot education and subsequently into [Greek-]Cypriot society*. (...) It is generally accepted that, *in order for the other-language students to benefit from their right to access education, adequate knowledge of the language of instruction is essential for them*. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Culture considers as its *first priority the development of measures for the intensive instruction of Greek language* to the other-language students. Educational support for the learning of Greek language will be provided to other-language students. (...)

(Minister of Education’s speech in press conference for the presentation of PIGLLC policy, 2 September 2009, my translation, my emphasis)

²⁵ Apart from English, which has always held a prominent position in the Greek-Cypriot community, the languages of the other immigrants are not visibly present in schools or public life (Hadjioannou et al., 2011) and there is no provision for home language instruction (European Commission, 2013).

Again, as becomes clear in both of the examples above, the MEC has drawn upon the EU discourses regarding intercultural education, integration of immigrant students in schools and society at large, learning of the additional language as key to integration, no discrimination based on their religion, ethnic origin, colour and race, respect of freedoms and rights, and prohibition of social exclusion.²⁶ However, as Hajisoteriou and Angelides (2013b: 106) contend, “although the MEC adopted the rhetoric of intercultural education, its documentation still failed to provide a concrete definition of intercultural education”.

There is specific literature on intercultural education, which perceives it as the most appropriate way for providing quality education for all in a world experiencing rapid social, economic, political and cultural change (see for example UNESCO, 2006). Within this framework, intercultural education is seen as trying “to achieve a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies through the creation of understanding of, respect for and dialogue between the different cultural groups” (ibid.: 18). However, I do not believe that this reflects what the Greek-Cypriot MEC meant when using the term “intercultural education” in its policy documentation, and instead I think the MEC uses the term in a superficial way. As the above examples suggest, intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot context seems to be equated with notions of “integration” and “inclusion” promoted through Greek language instruction.

So far, I have explained that the establishment of intercultural education and the parallel classes in the Greek-Cypriot primary education were prompted by the need to respond to EU discourses about human rights for minorities. In the same vein, Hajisoteriou (2013: 109) states that: “As various external forces (i.e. ECRI) pressed for the (...) implementation of intercultural policy, they led to the development of an insufficient practical model of intercultural education.” In the next section, I provide an overview of the MEC’s policies regarding intercultural education with the latest being the policy for PIGLLC. Similarly to Hajisoteriou, I argue that the MEC has only responded superficially to EU pressures, because, although it has adopted EU

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion concerning the ways in which the Greek-Cypriot policy rhetoric draws from the language of European policy and has been shaped by EU influences, see Hajisoteriou, 2012.

discourses regarding interculturalism as policy goals, the requirement for Greek-Cypriot primary schools to establish parallel classes is actually only funded by the allocation of extra teaching periods per week.

3.2 Greek-Cypriot MEC's response to new migration: integration of GAL students and interculturalism

In a previous section (1.3), I explained the vast change in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community with the new migration, and how this has affected the school system, which increasingly has to educate students from various ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds. Within this context of new migration and with Cyprus' entry in the EU, the Greek-Cypriot MEC was called upon to develop policies addressing diverse educational settings (Hajisoteriou, 2012). Its response to the situation has been to adopt 'intercultural education' as an acknowledgement that the Greek-Cypriot community is becoming diverse, and as a way to promote the smooth integration of immigrant students into the Greek-Cypriot educational system and society.

Intercultural education is new to the Greek-Cypriot community and its educational system. As already mentioned, the first reference to intercultural education by the MEC is in a document entitled 'Intercultural Education and Schooling in Cyprus' written by the Ministry Officials Rousou and Hatzigianni-Yiangou in 2001, which set the basis for all the subsequent policy documents (Trimikliniotis et al., 2012). Intercultural education is mainly concerned with the teaching of Greek language to immigrant students, whereby as Hajisoteriou and Angelides (2013b: 114) argue, an emphasis upon Greek language proficiency is placed "as a precursor to greater inclusion". Intercultural education is also concerned with the 'celebration of difference'. This approach became known as the "3Ss: Saris, Samosas and Steelbands" in the UK (Troyna and Williams, 1986) or the "3Fs: Food, Festivals and Famous men" in the US (Coelho, 1998), and has been widely criticised (Papamichael, 2008; 2009). As Papamichael (2009: 608) explains, it "may involve school concerts with music, dance, and traditional clothing of various cultures or the invitation of parents to cook 'ethnic foods'; these events are problematic because they highlight only the minority cultures and reinforce the assumption that the

dominant culture is the ‘normal’ one” (see also Coelho, 1998; Pearce, 2005; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992).

Moreover, the abovementioned document by Rousou and Hatzigianni-Yiangou (2001) introduced the label ‘other-language students’ (αλλόγλωσσοι μαθητές) to refer to children whose home language is not Greek and since then, the MEC has been using this term interchangeably with the label ‘foreign language students’ (ξενόγλωσσοι μαθητές) in most of its policy texts (Karyolemou et al., 2011; Spinthourakis et al., 2008; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2012). However, as Zembylas (2010a) suggests, the term ‘other-language students’ only focuses on language and ignores other facets of these children’s identities. Karyolemou and her colleagues (Karyolemou et al., 2011: 8) go even further to claim that this term entails negative connotations associated with the idea of ‘the other’ as ‘unnatural’, ‘strange’, ‘wrong’ or ‘dangerous’.

An overview of the abovementioned document by Rousou and Hatzigianni-Yiangou (2001) was sent to all Greek-Cypriot primary schools through a circular entitled ‘Intercultural Education and Schooling’ in October 2002 (MEC, 2002a). This is a lengthy document describing the MEC’s policy on the issue, which concentrates on two points: a) suggestions/guidelines in relation to language support and b) suggestions/guidelines in relation to cultural and social support for GAL students. With regards to language support, the focus is on GAL students’ Greek language proficiency and their age, identifying four categories: beginner students (in Greek) of classes B and C (years 2 and 3 of primary school); beginner students of classes D, E and St²⁷ (years 4, 5 and 6, respectively); advanced students of classes B and C; and advanced students of classes D, E and St. It also provides teachers with general goals of teaching Greek for each group of students. GAL students in class A (year 1) are categorised as a separate group in that no goals are provided, it being taken that they are sufficiently adaptive so as to be able to follow the mainstream curriculum at that young age. Regarding cultural and social support, the circular proposes goals for facilitating the inclusion of GAL pupils in the school and recommends activities, such as music, food and dance events for ‘celebrating diversity’. Along with this circular, relevant teaching materials were sent to schools. However, a previous

²⁷ ‘Class St’ refers to the sixth grade of primary school.

examination revealed that these materials were developed by the Greek Government for the teaching of Greek Diaspora and thus, do not meet the needs of GAL children attending Greek-Cypriot schools (see Charalambous, 2009b).

In October 2002, a circular entitled ‘Support teaching for children of classes D, E, St [years 4, 5 and 6 of primary school] with serious illiteracy problems’ (MEC, 2002b) was sent to primary schools. In October 2003, the same circular was reissued with a slightly different title: ‘Support teaching for other-language children and illiterate children of classes D, E, St with serious illiteracy problems’ (MEC, 2003). According to the policy measure for support teaching, children who have very low academic achievement together with GAL students should be withdrawn from their mainstream classes to receive support teaching throughout the school week. However, the circulars do not specify the goals and content of the support lessons. Research shows that:

“These supportive pull out sessions are typically the responsibility of regular school teachers who have been assigned some ‘support hours’ in their weekly schedules. These support hours are generic in nature, and usually schools use them to cover miscellaneous school needs such as scheduling, secretarial duties, event planning, supporting at risk students, and providing supportive language instruction to other-language students. As a rule, the content and focus of the supportive language instruction is entirely up to the specific teacher, with basic encoding and decoding skills and help with homework being typically at the epicenter” (Hadjioannou, 2006: 404).

Moreover, it can be argued that the MEC categorises GAL children in the same group of students as academically low achieving children, and thus sees them as of low ability and slow learners. The ideology underpinning would appear to be based on the assumption that GAL children are deficient because of their inability to speak Greek.

Another aspect of the policy for intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot education is the Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP) programme, which was introduced by the MEC in 2004. Since then, it has been implemented only in a very small number of schools across the Greek-Cypriot community that are located in

poor areas. A ZEP programme catchment area covers a number of schools, including kindergartens, primary schools and a secondary school. One of the criteria to determine an area as a ZEP is the presence of a large number of immigrant students (Giannaka et al., 2007; Spithourakis et al., 2008; Spyrou, 2007; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). Theodorou and Symeou (2013: 357) explain that the MEC offers to ZEP schools extra assistance, such as having smaller numbers of students in a class, extra numbers of teaching hours for language support and free meals. However, these schools do not deviate from the national curriculum.

In 2004, a campaign was initiated by the Greek-Cypriot MEC aimed at reforming the educational system towards a 'Democratic and Humanistic Education in Euro-Cypriot Society'.²⁸ Unsurprisingly, the Committee for Educational Reform, which was assigned by the government to examine the educational system, proposed in their manifesto that for the creation of a democratic and humanistic school it is necessary to diminish the ethnocentric, monocultural and separationist elements, and add an intercultural ideology that connects the Greek-Cypriot traditions with knowledge of other cultures as an educational goal (2004: 95). The committee also reported that the teachers expressed that they lack appropriate training in intercultural education and they worried about their effectiveness when working in diverse classroom environments. Moreover, the teachers "acknowledge the danger that, in a traditional school, children with a different cultural background are at risk of falling behind and/or facing many psychological problems because of the ignorance or contempt towards their cultural specificities" (ibid.: 287, cited in Trimikliniotis et al., 2012: 15, translation). They are also "troubled by the relations of the local children with migrant children and the specific problems that the latter face in an unfamiliar environment which is not always characterised by elements of an open society" (ibid., cited in Trimikliniotis et al., 2012: 15, translation). However, as with many calls for change, Greek-Cypriot educationalists did not welcome the reforms, which they believed would threaten the dominant Hellenocentric character of the education system that they had fought for for the last century so as to distinguish it from that of Turkish-Cypriots.

²⁸ The educational reform, entitled 'Democratic and Humanistic Education in Euro-Cypriot Society', is an ongoing attempt to modernise and Europeanise Greek-Cypriot education. In 2004, the MEC appointed a committee of seven academics (the so-called 'seven wise') in order to examine Greek-Cypriot education and develop a report to be employed for the reform.

In 2008, the MEC, taking into account the suggestions of the Committee for Educational Reform and in an attempt to promote the creation of a democratic school, developed the ‘Policy Document of the Ministry of Education and Culture about Intercultural Education’, which was approved by the Ministers Council. It refers to intercultural education as the only way to facilitate the smooth integration of migrant children into the Greek-Cypriot educational system and society at large. In August 2008, a new circular entitled ‘Intercultural Education and Schooling’ was developed based on this policy document and was sent to primary schools. An extract from this circular is illustrated below where the MEC, under the umbrella ‘intercultural education’, states the intention of creating ‘a democratic school that integrates and does not exclude’, by promoting a number of measures one of which being PIGLLC.

Document 3.3

Topic: Intercultural Education and Schooling

(...) The Ministry of Education and Culture, in line with the relevant recommendations of the Report on Educational Reform and in the creation of a democratic school that integrates and does not exclude, promotes the introduction of the following measures, aimed at accelerating and making smooth the integration of other-language students in the school system and the society of Cyprus:

- I. Parallel classes for intensive learning of the Greek language.** (...) from the beginning of the current school year, schools are enabled to implement the measure of parallel classes for intensive learning of Greek language. (...)
- II. Teacher training.** (...)
- III. Welcoming newcomer other-language students – Welcome Guide.** (...)
- IV. Future plans.** (...)

<http://egkykloi.moec.gov.cy/Data/dde1481a.pdf>, accessed 08/02/2012

(Circular for ‘Intercultural Education and Schooling’, 28 August 2008, my translation, emphasis as in original)

This circular announced the introduction of ‘parallel classes for intensive learning of the Greek language’. During the school week and on a regular basis, pupils who have little or no fluency in Greek are withdrawn from their mainstream classes to receive this kind of teaching, which is provided by mainstream teachers. The policy measure of parallel classes has been operating alongside support teaching. In this circular, it is recommended that parallel classes be organised based on children’s level of fluency in Greek and their age. Directions are also given to schools and teachers to organise these classes so that intensive language instruction is provided at two levels of Greek

language proficiency: ‘beginner’ students who attend the classes for two years and ‘non beginner’ students who attend the classes for one year (see also Charalambous, 2009c; 2009d).

The frequency of this kind of instruction varies from school to school, depending on the extra number of hours allocated by the MEC. It is also proposed in this document that the maximum number of GAL students in a class be up to eight and that they may be withdrawn from mainstream subjects like history or religion. However, the circular does not specify the content and the focus of the parallel intensive Greek language lessons. Notably, there is no reference to the use of Greek-Cypriot Dialect (GCD) in the document, the relevance of which will become apparent in the empirical chapters. It also does not contain a teaching agenda or a recommended methodology for this kind of teaching (see also Charalambous, 2009c; 2009d). Even though the policy document has been circulated to schools, head-teachers and classroom teachers, there are serious limitations regarding this policy text in that it provides scant and sometimes vague information as to how PIGLLC can be organised in schools. In addition, the actual funding given to schools to organise parallel classes is the mere allocation of extra teaching periods per week (this policy document will be analysed more carefully in the next chapter).

The abovementioned circular (MEC, 2008a) also announces other policy measures to be implemented in the future: a) organisation of teacher training on intercultural education and teaching Greek to migrant students, b) publication of a booklet which provides new arrival migrant children and their families basic information about the Greek-Cypriot educational system, and c) the future intention to add intercultural elements in the new curricula as well as the preparation of relevant teaching materials. Here, I only briefly refer to these measures because they are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is important to mention that since 2011 (the year after I conducted my fieldwork) new curricula have started to be promoted gradually in primary schools by the MEC, which are under evaluation. In these curricula intercultural elements have been added but there is no provision for teaching GAL (further research on this issue is necessary). According to Hajisoteriou et al. (2012: 397-398):

“Interculturalism is clearly implied [in the new national curricula] through the notions of the ‘democratic and humane school’, which are set to be the cornerstones of the curricular reform in Cyprus. As defined in the official curriculum, the democratic school is a school that includes and caters for all children, regardless of any differences they may have, and helps them prepare for a common future. It is a school that guarantees equal educational opportunities for all and, most importantly, it is held responsible not only for the success, but also for the failure of each and every individual child. The democratic school is organised in such a way that it will provide to all children the opportunity to achieve all the goals of education. On the other hand, the humane school is a school that respects human dignity. It is a school where no child is excluded, censured or scorned. It is a school that celebrates childhood, acknowledging that this should be the most creative and happy period of human life”.

This thesis focuses on the policy measure for parallel language classes, which is the most recent initiative (2008a) by the Greek-Cypriot MEC, and as I explained in section 1.5, the least researched. Having explained how the MEC adopted the discourse of ‘intercultural education’ so as to bring the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus in line with EU policy, next how this has been interpreted in education policy given the persistence of Hellenocentric ideology in the country’s schools is examined.

3.3 ‘Intercultural education’ or promoting a national identity?

In chapter 1, I referred to the historical and ideological context of Cyprus – a setting dominated by the conflicts between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities. Also, I contended that the organisation of the educational system in Cyprus has traditionally been community-based, being used by both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities to impose and maintain nationalist discourses as well as to ‘educate’ the new generation as either Greeks or Turks. Consequently, up until today the Hellenocentric ideology emphasising Cypriots’ Greek identity has prevailed in Greek-Cypriot education (Charalambous, 2009a; Philippou, 2007; Trimikliniotis, 2004).

The deeply rooted anxiety to cultivate the Greek identity of the new generation of Greek-Cypriots has not been influenced by the recently introduced educational discourse of ‘interculturalism’ (Charalambous, 2009a; Gregoriou, 2004). As already explained, in 2001, the Greek-Cypriot MEC used the term ‘intercultural education’ in a report titled ‘Intercultural Education and Schooling in Cyprus’ (Rousou and Hatzigianni-Yiangou, 2001). This was the first time the term had been referred to and it was disseminated in order to acknowledge that (Greek) ‘Cypriot’ society was changing (Charalambous, 2009a; Gregoriou, 2004).

“Cyprus, besides its serious political problem, finds itself today in the whirlwind of socioeconomic developments. Cypriot society, which until recently was a relatively homogeneous society with a Greek Orthodox population, has been experiencing during the last decade the consequences of a mass influx of alien workers and Greek-Pontioi expatriates from the former USSR” (ibid.: 1, cited in Gregoriou, 2004: 245, translation).

In the statement above, multiculturalism is articulated as a new phenomenon and is made to appear as an unavoidable effect of increased immigration. Cypriot society is equated with “a relatively homogeneous society with a Greek Orthodox population” and thus, the change of its composition is seen as posing a ‘new’ challenge for (Greek) ‘Cypriot’ society and education (Charalambous, 2009a; Gregoriou, 2004). In other words, “the welcoming of multiculturalism became the inspiration for an invocation to our historically ‘homogeneous’ society” (Gregoriou, 2004: 245). Nevertheless, as Gregoriou (ibid.) explains, pressure exerted by the EU on the Republic of Cyprus to acknowledge that (Greek) ‘Cypriot’ society is currently multicultural was received with some fear. This stems from a potential political recognition of the negative ‘other’ (the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) for Greek-Cypriots (Charalambous, 2009a; Gregoriou, 2004) and consequently:

“multiculturalism’s idiom of otherness is ‘received in quarantine’: it is addressed as an effect of global socioeconomic change rather than a question pointing to the re-appreciation of our historical ethnic diversity and ethnic divides” (Gregoriou, ibid.: 245).

In chapter 1, it became clear that the ‘Hellenocentric’ discourse, which emphasises Greek-Cypriots’ Greekness and thus, anxious to cultivate the Greek identity of the new generation, has prevailed in Greek-Cypriot education. This discourse undermines the notion of valuing everyone as equal and respecting other cultures. It also rejects any potential changes proposed by the more recent educational discourse of ‘interculturalism’ (Charalambous, 2009a). Hence, it is not surprising that the Committee for Educational Reform (2004: 4, my translation) has highlighted that:

“The ideological-political context of contemporary [Greek-]Cypriot education remains Helleno-Cyprio-centric, narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic. The current ideological context ignores the interculturalism and multiculturalism of Cypriot society, as well as the Europeanisation and internationalisation of [Greek-]Cypriot education”.

In the context of ‘intercultural education’ policy, the Greek-Cypriot MEC has promoted the implementation of a number of educational measures (as seen in the previous section). These policies are language support measures, which relate to the teaching of Greek as an additional language and attempt to facilitate the smooth integration of GAL students into the Greek-Cypriot primary education system. Specifically, as reported by the MEC:

“Intercultural education is currently being practised in Cyprus in the form of various support measures (...) The model that is currently being used is the mainstreaming programme in which bilingual pupils participate in the classrooms along with native Greek-speaking pupils. A flexible system of intervention within the ordinary timetable exists. This involves placing bilingual pupils in a separate class for some hours of the week, for intensive learning of the Greek language and specialised assistance according to their specific needs” (MEC, 2008a: 299).

A review of the policy, however, suggests that it is built on “the presumption (...) that these children have a language or cultural deficiency and require ‘special assistance’ in language learning” (Trimikliniotis & Pantelides, n.d.: 25). The idea of the programme is to allocate allotted teaching time for GAL students to be taught

Greek and “this teaching is seen as mere extra curricula activities with no special weight or significance” (ibid.).

In addition to this, an examination of the official documents regarding the teaching of GAL students as well as the Greek-Cypriot curriculum for primary education, shows that there is a conflict between the notions of ‘intercultural education’ and the traditional ethnocentrism of the curriculum (Trimikliniotis & Pantelides, n.d.). The Greek-Cypriot educational system may state that it “supports the language and distinctive cultural features of the various ethnic groups” (MEC, 2008a: 298), “but at the same time it aspires to transmit, conserve and enhance ‘Helleno-Christian’ or ‘Helleno-Orthodox’ values” (Trimikliniotis & Pantelides, n.d.: 26). In fact, as Trimikliniotis (2004: 14) observes:

“the former Education Minister, although quite adamant about the need for ‘intercultural education’, rejected vehemently any move to create a genuine multicultural system that treated all cultures as equal and valuable stating that he would never even consider taking steps to ‘discolour Cypriot education’, since the Greek children of Cyprus need to know who they are and where they must go”.

In other words, Greek-Cypriot education reinforces the cultural and linguistic practices of the majority group members of the Greek-Cypriot community. This leaves little, if any, scope for questioning or challenging these fundamental values within the Greek-Cypriot educational system. Taking into account how the MEC’s GAL policy has come about and under what historical circumstances, my intention is to examine how the PIGLLC policy is being translated into local practice.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the policy text for PIGLLC came about. Taking into account the contemporaneous social and political scene with the entry of Cyprus in the EU, it has become clear that this new policy provision did not come internally or in Hajisoteriou’s (2012: 461) words “was not entirely self-induced or self-determined”. Instead, it was submerged within a general provision about intercultural education and emerged as a response to the guidelines of EU institutions. The

discussion in this chapter betrays the fact that Greek-Cypriot policy makers are torn between two competing ideologies: the new EU ideology, which champions the rights of migrants and minorities versus the well entrenched Hellenocentric approach to schooling, which pays little attention to the particular requirements of these groups. Because it came about in this way, it does not reflect a naturally occurring desire to depart from Hellenocentrism in relation to these new migrants. Even though the MEC has adopted inclusive discourses and has attempted to develop a policy for intercultural education, it maintains a nationalistic orientation in its broader educational goals (Hajisoteriou, 2010; 2012). Consequently, it has been concluded that the Greek-Cypriot intercultural policy “appears symbolic, indicating ‘simulated’ development and implementation processes” (Hajisoteriou, 2012: 451). My argument that the MEC’s policy is symbolic is in line with several scholars’ observation that intercultural education policy is not founded on systematically thought-out initiatives, and as a result, it can be characterised as a ‘symbolic interculturalist’ policy (Hajisoteriou, 2010; Hajisoteriou et al., 2012).

Given the content of the above discussion, it is not surprising then that a recent EU document has criticised the policy for migrant students in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. I am referring here to the ‘Study on Educational Support for Newly Arrived Migrant Children’ published in 2013 by the European Commission, in which it is claimed that the response in that country rather than being systematic is random. More precisely it is stated:

“Non-systematic support model (examples: Italy, Cyprus, Greece) The model is characterised by randomness of the support provided. Countries that are attributed to this group have no clearly articulated policy on the national level to support the integration of newly arrived migrant children or such policy exists, but is not effectively resourced and implemented. The support provided at regional, local and/or school level is highly fragmented as teachers, parents and local communities are largely left to their own devices” (European Commission, 2013: 8, italics as in original).

Having considered the influential drivers that led to the drawing up of the PIGLLC policy in this chapter, next, in chapter 4, the content of this policy and how it has been interpreted by school leaders is investigated.

**PART TWO: ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE SCHOOL**

CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS FOR HEAD-TEACHERS

4.0 Introduction

Ball (1997), on the one hand, criticises classroom studies that do not take into consideration policy, and on the other hand, educational policy studies that do not take into account everyday school and classroom practice. Ball and his colleagues (Ball, 1983; 1993; 1997; Bowe et al., 1992) emphasise the importance of the relation between education policy and what actually happens in schools. They express this relation in what they call the ‘policy cycle’ according to three contexts: ‘the context of influence’, ‘the context of policy text production’ and ‘the context of practice’.

Responding to this criticism, in chapter 3 the policy document for PIGLLC and how it came about was examined. It dealt with ‘the context of influence’ and ‘the context of policy text production’ through investigating the political, ideological and historical background behind the setting up of parallel classes for GAL teaching. As argued, the establishment of these classes seems to have been in response to EU discourses about human rights for minorities. However, there are serious limitations regarding this policy text. Firstly, it is limited in explaining how PIGLLC can be organised in schools. Secondly, the MEC has not considered the impact of Hellenocentrism on the enactment of the policy for parallel classes. More specifically, the fact that the policy was developed as something extra to regular school life and on the margins of the mainstream demonstrates that the ‘Hellenocentric’ character of the curriculum was left untouched.

This chapter moves to ‘the context of practice’ and examines what actually happens when the policy text meets the institutions and how the head-teachers receive it at the institutional level. This is in line with Ball and colleagues (Ball et al., 2012), who describe the ways that policy enactments are peopled and the roles that different enactors play within policy work. They argue that head-teachers as school leaders play a central role in policy interpretation by filtering out and selectively focusing on

policies, formulating them into an institutional narrative, ‘explaining’ policy to colleagues, deciding what must be done and then announcing it.

As Ball (1997: 270) suggests, “policies pose problems to their subjects, problems that must be solved in context”. In other words, policy enactors never encounter policy statements in a straightforward way and as practical actions to be followed, but instead as constraints and licences that interrelate with their meaning making and interpretations in the local context. This is not to deny the influence of policy, but highlights the need to understand its impact on localised practices (Leung, 2005a). Consistent with these claims, I contend that in practice head-teachers have to deal with a number of problems posed by the policy document for PIGLLC when it reaches their institutions. This is in contrast to the MEC’s view of the policy for PIGLLC, which it considers as providing solutions for addressing the presence of GAL learners in Greek-Cypriot schools.

In this chapter, I discuss the problems at the institutional level identified from my fieldwork in two primary schools and the different solutions applied to overcome them. It emerged that the response at this level was random and based on factors other than a principled approach to GAL teaching. For, it did not start from what is GAL teaching, what are the needs of the learners, what different kinds of learners are there and what different kinds of provision they need. As pointed out in the last chapter, a recent document of the European Commission (2013) claims that the educational policy for migrant children in Cyprus is non-systematic and random. Indeed, this is what I discovered through my research and I am going to show this by providing evidence from my naturally occurring data. However, I would like first to give a sense of the nature of the problems at the institutional level as identified by other researchers.

4.0.1 The identification of problems

It is notable that the Greek-Cypriot MEC has recently assigned to researchers the evaluation of its policies for GAL students in primary and secondary education with a view to making recommendations for their improvement. During the school year

2008-9, the Centre for Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE)²⁹ conducted research to evaluate policy measures for supportive teaching and PIGLLC in primary education. More specifically, three officers of CERE (I. Elia, S. Vlami and K. Loukaidis) carried out large-scale quantitative research using questionnaires administered to 636 head-teachers and classroom teachers as well as semi-structured interviews with eight of them. In 2010, three academics from the University of Cyprus (M. Karyolemou, E. Ioannidou and S. Papadima-Sofokleous) conducted research to assess the policy measure for PIGLLC in primary schools, but their main focus was on secondary education. The data collection involved the views of representatives of the MEC, CERE, Pedagogical Institute³⁰ and teachers organisations (OELMEC, POED and SEKF), as well as information gathered during visits to schools in all districts of the country. Both of these studies have pointed to problems at the level of the institutions arising during the enactment of the MEC's policies in primary schools.

One of the problems that these studies report is the fact that the extra teaching periods given to primary schools by the MEC for organising PIGLLC are assigned to mainstream class teachers who do not have training related to GAL teaching. More specifically, according to CERE's study (Elia et al., 2009), the teaching hours for PIGLLC are mainly assigned to mainstream class teachers of GAL students, probably due to their knowledge of their students' weaknesses and difficulties. The study of Karyolemou and colleagues (Karyolemou et al., 2011) notes that, during the school year 2010-11 (the school year in which I carried out my research), the teachers who undertook the PIGLLC were permanently appointed and most of them (62%) had considerable experience (about 10 years on average) as teachers in primary education. However, even though many appeared to have a master's degree in intercultural education, none of them had a qualification to teach GAL.

²⁹ The Centre for Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE) or Κέντρο Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης (KEEA) was established in 2008 as a Directorate of the Greek-Cypriot MEC in order to "promote research and to establish research infrastructure in the Cyprus educational system". The 'Internal Evaluations' of educational policies after direct assignment from the MEC is one of its main activities. See <http://www.sse.org.cy/index.php/cyprus-partners/centre-for-educational-research-and-evaluation>.

³⁰ The Cyprus Pedagogical Institute was founded in 1972. Its mission is to ensure the continuous training of teachers at all levels of education, inform them about new trends in education and explain the rationale behind the current educational policy, as well as facilitate their professional development. See http://www.pi.ac.cy/pi/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=329&Itemid=161&lang=el

Another problem was that the allocation of the teaching periods for PIGLLC to teachers was not based on GAL pedagogical criteria. As the teachers who participated in CERE's study (2009) noted, when allocating the hours for GAL teaching, priority was given to the easy functioning of the weekly school programme. In other words, the teaching hours for PIGLLC were assigned to teachers who needed more teaching periods in order to complete their weekly school schedule. Other criteria, such as personal interest, relevant training or previous experience were taken into consideration, but to a lesser extent.

CERE's research (2009) highlights the importance of the head-teacher's role in the functioning of PIGLLC and according to them, in schools where the head-teachers do not realise the significance of these measures the teaching periods are usually equally distributed amongst teachers with no clear thought as to what is the best form of delivery. This lack of realisation on the part of head-teachers can have a negative impact as unsuitable teachers are sometimes chosen for parallel classes. During the interviews, the head-teachers appeared to have not understood the philosophy, aim and proposed way to organise the policy for PIGLLC as stated in the relevant MEC policy document. This was made obvious by the fact that they were unable to explain how they 'implemented' the policy in their schools as well as from their expressed disappointment about the vagueness of this policy document.

Similarly, the study of Karyolemou and colleagues (2011) refers to the practice of spreading the teaching periods for PIGLLC between two, three or even more mainstream class teachers as 'teaching diffusion', and details its problematic nature. As they explain, the mainstream class teachers, due to their workload, have less time – and possibly less interest – to be trained in GAL teaching than a mainstream teacher who is only responsible for parallel classes and can be trained gradually. It is also stated that the fewer GAL students and fewer hours for GAL teaching the mainstream teachers undertake, the less they feel the need to assess the outcome of their work. On the other hand, the more GAL students and more hours of GAL teaching teachers undertake (that is, it takes the form of their main occupation and even specialisation), the more they feel the need to evaluate the students' progress and likewise, their own work.

Moreover, according to the CERE's study (2009), more than one third of GAL students in need of GAL teaching were never given language support and they attributed this to the weaknesses of the initial assessment of the students' competence in Greek. Based on the opinions of the teachers who took part in this study, supportive language teaching is provided not only to GAL students who cannot communicate or can to some extent communicate in Greek, but also to students who although weak in Greek are still capable of participating in their mainstream lessons. In addition, their findings suggest that the criteria for the induction of GAL children in the programme for supportive teaching and the identification of their educational needs are mainly based on the general judgement of the class teacher and head-teacher, instead of diagnostic tests of Greek language proficiency provided by the MEC for this purpose. As a result, in the opinion of these researchers, decisions are often fragmented, unclear and on many occasions invalid. They claim that the contribution of the educational psychologist, school inspector and parents in this decision making process plays a much smaller role than that prescribed by the MEC in its policy documents.

In addition to the above-mentioned observations, CERE's study (2009) reports the following problems:

- the insufficient training that the teachers have and the incomplete and fragmented training provided by the MEC in relation to GAL teaching,
- the absence of a GAL curriculum and appropriate textbooks, and
- the often substandard buildings housing GAL lessons.³¹

CERE's study (2009) was carried out in the school year 2008-9, that is, the first year that the PIGLLC policy was put into practice, whereas that of Karyolemou and colleagues (2011) was in 2010. In response to the problems highlighted by these researchers, recently, on 3rd September 2013, the MEC issued a further policy document³² for PIGLLC in primary education making some further suggestions about its organisation. However, these are just minor low key suggestions and do not supply the kind of restructuring that the criticisms seem to imply.

³¹ In this study, it is not always clear whether the researchers refer to supportive language lessons or PIGLLC and the sporadic references to parallel classes suggest that the evaluation mainly refers to lessons of supportive teaching.

³² For the MEC's circular in Greek see <http://egkyklioi.moec.gov.cy/Data/dde3812a.pdf>.

Other extant studies on intercultural education indicate that the MEC “left the formation and implementation of concrete intercultural initiatives to the discretion of the schools and their personnel” (Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 2013a: 78; see also Hajisoteriou, 2010; Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007; Papamichael, 2008). However, some studies highlight that the school leaders’ efforts to develop school-based policies for intercultural education are constrained by the centralised character of the Greek-Cypriot educational system (Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 2013a; see also Angelides, 2012; Hajisoteriou, 2011; Pashiardis, 2004; Trimikliniotis, 2001; Zembylas, 2010b). Furthermore, Hajisoteriou (2011) points out the inadequacy of training in relation to intercultural education provided to head-teachers and most of the head-teachers who participated in Zembylas and Iasonos’ study (2010) appeared uncertain about how to respond to the increasing numbers of immigrant students in schools.

As already mentioned, CERE’s study relied mainly on the use of questionnaires and some semi-structured interviews. However, questionnaire data tend to be difficult to interpret because often they take the form of a summary as well as being self-reported. The study of Karyolemou and colleagues (Karyolemou et al., 2011) relied on the views of representatives of educational authorities and teachers organisations as well as information³³ gathered during school visits. The findings of these studies are very useful for pointing out in general terms the problems at the institutional level arising during the enactment of the MEC’s policy for PIGLLC. However, in my view, they do not offer an in-depth understanding of the nature of the problems involved or a detailed account of what actually happens in schools and how head-teachers tackle the problems they face. My research contributes to the debate by collecting and analysing naturally occurring data in terms of participant observation supported by fieldnotes during five months of fieldwork in two primary schools. In what follows, I expand upon the understandings of previous researchers about the nature of the institutional problems encountered by head-teachers tasked with translating into practice the MEC’s PIGLLC policy. I focus on the following key problems that emerged from my ethnographic fieldwork data; discussing each one in turn:

³³ The researchers are not clear about what kind of information this was and I do not get the impression that this was serious ethnographic research.

- i) no clear direction about how to organise parallel intensive Greek classes (section 4.1);
- ii) no guidance instructions from the MEC regarding who is going to teach these classes in the absence of GAL specialists (section 4.2);
- iii) no clear direction about how to assess pupils' Greek language proficiency (section 4.3);
- iv) no clear direction regarding which mainstream subject classes the pupils should be withdrawn from (section 4.4); and
- v) no guidelines concerning the teaching goals and content of intensive Greek lessons (section 4.5).

Most of these problems have already been identified by previous research, but what my study offers is a close look at how the two focal institutions responded to them.

4.1 The problem of organising intensive Greek classes parallel to the mainstream curriculum

One of the problems that the head-teachers had to face when enacting the policy for PIGLLC is the organisation of these classes. In the Circular 7.1.19.1/10³⁴ from the MEC, on the one hand, it is recommended that parallel classes should be organised based on pupils' level of Greek language proficiency, and on the other hand, it is proposed that these classes should be organised according to their age. More specifically, in this policy document it is firstly suggested that these classes should be organised so that intensive language instruction is provided at two levels of Greek language proficiency, with 'beginner' students attending the classes for two years and 'non beginner' students for one year.³⁵ It is proposed later on in the same

³⁴ This official policy document comprises the Greek-Cypriot MEC's announcement of the policy measure for the setting up of PIGLLC in primary schools. For the original version in Greek see <http://egkyklioi.moec.gov.cy/Data/dde1481a.pdf>. The original version in Greek can also be found in appendix 4 (page 309).

³⁵ Beyond the two years of intensive Greek language teaching in a parallel class, there is no provision for continuous GAL support. However, in other locations, there are several researchers of the education of migrant children, arguing that 1-2 years are usually required for these children to attain proficiency in conversational aspects of their additional language, whereas a much longer period (5-10 years) is required for them to attain proficiency in academic aspects (see for example Collier, 1987; Klesmer, 1994, cited in Cummins and Schecter, 2003). Therefore, it can be argued that it is very difficult for the GAL students to become communicatively competent in Greek and reach the same level of proficiency in academic language with their peers within two years.

document that GAL students coming from the same mainstream classes should attend the same parallel language groups with the intention that ‘uniformity will be accomplished’ among the students in parallel language groups. Immediately after this statement, it is recommended that if an age division is not feasible, then GAL pupils can be divided into parallel classes according to their level of Greek language proficiency.

From the above, it can be seen that the MEC’s policy document is not categorical with regards to the way that the parallel classes should be organised in schools. On the contrary, it seems to offer two options for organising these classes, either based on pupils’ level of Greek language proficiency, or according to their age. However, GAL students have a multiplicity of needs, and therefore, to make provision for them in accordance simply with Greek proficiency based on not thought-through levels or age ignores the complexity of the needs of individual students. The MEC also overlooks pupils’ linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Harris (1997) notes this in relation to bilingual learners in British educational contexts. He argues that teachers classified bilingual learners according to their competence in English in terms of putative stages or levels and ignored their competence in languages other than English (see also Harris, 1999; 2002). Bourne (1989), Harris (1999) and Levine (1990) call attention to the dangers of developing educational policy and practice founded on the oversimplified use of the term bilingual learner, because they cannot meet the actual needs of the different students.

From interviews with the head-teachers of Inner City and Outer City primary schools, I realised that they faced similar difficulties when organising the parallel classes for intensive Greek language teaching, since the number of extra teaching hours allocated to them by the MEC was not enough and the number of GAL pupils in the schools was too small to make their grouping into age or proficiency levels easy. On the one hand, if the schools had adopted the proficiency related provision, there were not enough GAL students in each category to constitute classes, and on the other hand, if they had followed the age related provision, there were not enough GAL students in each age category to create classes. Put another way, the two

Recently, several researchers have concentrated on the specific language practices used across the various content areas of the curriculum and have argued that it is also vital to provide content-specific language learning (see for example Genesee, 1994; Leung, 2005b; Schleppegrell and Achugar, 2003).

options for organising parallel classes offered by the MEC did not seem to be solutions to the organisational difficulties that the schools faced. In fact, each way of organising the parallel classes posed problems for the head-teachers in these two locations. In what follows, the rationale given for Inner City school's parallel classes provision is discussed.

Inner City Primary School serves a geographic area within the largest city and the capital of Cyprus.³⁶ In the spring of 2011 the population of the school was 197 pupils, of whom 17 were considered as needing GAL teaching.³⁷ The MEC allocated six extra 40-minute periods per week to the school in order to provide language teaching to its students who were not yet fluent in Greek. During the academic year 2010-2011, Inner City had established a parallel programme for teaching Greek that was structured around the various mainstream grades – namely grade 4, grade 5 and grade 6³⁸. As the head-teacher explained in my interview with her, the extra six teaching hours were divided among the mainstream class teachers of the different grades. Six parallel classes were created and each met for one teaching period every week. The head-teacher stated that she tried to give one teaching period per week to each mainstream class teacher³⁹ who had pupils with GAL in his/her class in order to withdraw these children, put them together and have a parallel class with them (extract 4.1, lines 3-6). If the mainstream class teacher was not assigned a teaching period, his/her GAL students would attend the parallel class organised by the teacher of the other class in the same age group, which is called the 'sister' class⁴⁰ in Greek-Cypriot education (lines 7-9).

³⁶ In chapter 2, I have already outlined the difficulties of being too precise in my descriptions of the two schools, as well as of the profiles of the school staff and the students. This is because of the small size of the Greek-Cypriot community. If I gave more information, the exact schools and participants would be immediately identifiable by people in the community. This would be breaking my ethical agreement, as it is not what I agreed with the participants. What I agreed is that I am going to make all possible effort to keep them unidentifiable and try to be as confidential and discrete as possible.

³⁷ It is noteworthy that the Greek-Cypriot MEC does not gather data regarding the socioeconomic status of pupils in the schools and the social class and background of parents.

³⁸ Greek-Cypriot state primary schools have six grades. There is a division amongst schools in the cities into the following categories: Cycle A for Grades 1-3 and Cycle B for Grades 4-6. These schools are often next to each other but have different head-teachers and teachers. Inner City Primary School is a Cycle B school.

³⁹ In Greek-Cypriot primary schools, on a yearly basis, there are class teachers as well as teachers who do not have their own class. Each class teacher is responsible for one mainstream class and usually teaches the subjects of Greek and maths in this class. On the other hand, the teachers who do not have their own class teach various lessons to different classes. Most of the time, the class teachers have more years of school experience compared with those who are not given a mainstream class.

⁴⁰ In each mainstream class there are up to 25 children and if there are more than 25 children, then the class is divided in two. In schools with a large number of students two or sometimes three classes of

Extract 4.1⁴¹

The utterances that are in Greek-Cypriot dialect are marked in bold letters. English translations are given underneath for both Standard Greek utterances and Greek-Cypriot dialect utterances.

- 1 **Inner City head-teacher:** **επιτιμήσαμεν να κάμνει** την ε... (.)
we prefer the class teacher **to do**
{teach} the... e... (.)
- 2 τα αλλόγλωσσα ο δάσκαλος της τάξης (2)
{the parallel lessons for} the other-
language children (2)
- 3 ό...σα- ό...σα παι...- όσα
αλλόγλωσσα(.)
a...ll- a...ll chi...- all the other-
language children (.)
- 4 **είχεν** ο δάσκαλος της τάξης τους (.)
that their class teacher **has** (.)
- 5 ε ώρα... (2)
e an hour... {for parallel lessons} (2)
- 6 τους **έκαμνεν** ο δάσκαλος της τάξης
τους(.)
their class teacher **is doing**
{teaching} them (.)
- 7 τώρα τρία τμήματα (.)
now three {mainstream} classes (.)
- 8 που δεν **είχεν** ο δάσκαλος της τάξης
τους(.)
that their class teacher does not **have**
{an hour for parallel lessons} (.)
- 9 **επήγαν** στο αδελφό τμήμα
they are going to {the parallel class
organised by the mainstream class
teacher of} the sister class
(recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

In the extract below, the head-teacher points out her criterion for organising the parallel classes for intensive Greek language teaching, that is, the extra teaching hours were spread among the mainstream class teachers who had pupils with GAL in their classes. Teachers with more GAL pupils in their mainstream classes were more eligible to be given a teaching hour (lines 3-6, 10-12). Also, it was important that teachers from all the mainstream grades would get teaching hours (lines 1-2, 7-9).

Extract 4.2

- 1 **Inner City head-teacher:** επιλέχθηκαν ώστε να έχει από όλες **τες**
τάξεις(.)
they {the teachers for parallel
classes} were selected so that there
are from all **the** grades (.)
- 2 και τετάρτη και πέμπτη και έκτη
{grade} 4 and {grade} 5 and {grade} 6

the same grade are created. These classes are called ‘sister’ classes and their class teachers usually collaborate in terms of teaching the same content in their classes, using the same teaching materials and so on. These teachers have a common free teaching hour in their weekly programme to use for cooperating and coordinating their lessons.

⁴¹ An excerpt from the interview with Inner City head-teacher can be found in appendix 5 (page 312).

(...)
3 στην τάξη που έχει μωρά αλλόγλωσσα (.)
to the {mainstream} class that has
other-language children (.)
4 **εδώσαμε τες** ώρες στη δασκάλα (.)
we gave the hours {for parallel
lessons} to the {class} teacher (.)
5 στην τάξη που **εν** έχει (.)
to the {mainstream} class that **does**
not have (.)
6 δεν **εδώσαμε** στον δάσκαλο (.)
we did not give {hour for parallel
lessons} to the {class} teacher (.)
7 δηλαδή κριτήριο ήταν ε... (.)
namely criterion was e... (.)
8 να έχει απ' όλες **τες** τάξεις
δασκάλους(.)
teachers from all **the** grades to have
{hour for parallel lessons} (.)
9 τειάρτη πέμπτη έχτη (.)
{grade} 4 {grade} 5 {grade} 6 (.)
10 **τζιαι** τα τμήματα που είχαν αλλόγλωσσα
μωρά(.)
and the {mainstream} classes that have
other-language children (.)
11 να πάρουν οι δάσκαλοι της τάξης (.)
their class teachers have taken {an
hour for parallel lessons} (.)
12 που είχαν τα πιο πολλά να πάρουν οι
δάσκαλοι της τάξης
the {class} teachers that have more
{GAL children} in their {mainstream}
classes have taken {hour for parallel
lessons}

(recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

As already explained, the MEC's policy document for PIGLLC offers two options for organising parallel classes, either based on pupils' level of Greek language proficiency, or according to their age. In the interview, the head-teacher of Inner City admitted that she felt troubled regarding which option to choose as can be seen in the following extract.

Extract 4.3

1 **Inner City head-teacher:** ε... ως διευθύντρια τώρα
προβληματίζομαι ας πούμεν
e... **let's say** that as the head-
teacher **I feel concerned** now
(...)
2 **=θα βοηθούνταν παραπάνω;**
=would it be more beneficial for them
{for the GAL students}?
(...)
3 αν ήταν **ας πούμεν** τρεις ομάδες **τζι**
έκαμναν δύο φορές την εβδομάδα (2)
if **for example** there were three groups
{parallel classes} **and they were doing**

{having parallel lessons} two times
 every week (2)
 4 =**τζι εβγαίνουν** πιο πολλές ώρες **που** την
τάξην τους όμως (.)
 =**but they were going to get out** {be
 withdrawn} **from** their {mainstream}
class for more hours {teaching
 periods}
 (...)
 5 βγάζει τους **τζιαι** πιο πολλές ώρες **που**
 την τάξη
 this **also** gets them out **from** their
 {mainstream} classes for more hours
 6 =**τζιαι** πρέπει να μην είναι ο δάσκαλος
 της τάξης
 =**and also** it cannot be their class
 teacher {teaching them}
 7 =να είναι ένα άτομο και να τ' αναλάβει
 όλα(2)
 =it has to be one person to be
 responsible for all (2)
 8 έχει άλλα μειονεκτήματα
 it has other disadvantages
 9 δηλαδή κάπου είναι... δίκοπο μαχαίρι
 that is to say it is... like a double-
 edged sword

(recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

In this extract, the head-teacher poses the dilemma that she faced. On the one hand, if she had organised the classes based on children's level of fluency in Greek instead of spreading the hours among the mainstream teachers, this would provide the GAL pupils with the chance to have GAL lessons more frequently (line 3). On the other hand, if she did that, they would be withdrawn from their mainstream classes more often (lines 4-5). This would also mean that their mainstream class teachers would not be able to teach them these lessons and another teacher would have to be responsible for all of the parallel classes (lines 6-7). She considered this a disadvantage, for, as she mentioned later on in the interview (see extract 4.4), she believed it was very important for the GAL students to be taught the GAL lessons by their mainstream class teachers, because they knew their students very well and hence, what their weaknesses were. The head-teacher concludes with the following: "that is to say, it is like a double-edged sword" ('δηλαδή κάπου είναι... δίκοπο μαχαίρι', line 9).

With regards to the MEC's direction in the policy document for PIGLLC to divide GAL pupils into two different levels (that is 'beginners' and 'non beginners'), the head-teacher transferred the responsibility onto the teachers who then had to decide how to differentiate their teaching in their parallel classes to meet the needs of the

different levels of GAL students. This is particularly observable in the following extract.

Extract 4.4

- 1 **Ioanna:** δημιουργήθηκαν τμήματα αρχαρίων και μη
αρχαρίων όπως λέει η πολιτική;
have you organised groups for
beginners and non beginners as the
policy text says?
- 2 **Inner City head-teacher:** **τούτον** έχει το ο δάσκαλος
the teacher has to do **that**
(...)
- 3 διότι ο δάσκαλος της τάξης μπορεί να
κάμει
because the class teacher can **do** that
- 4 =επειδή ξέρει τα μωρά πάρα **πολλά** καλά
μπορεί αμέσως να **κάμνει** διαφοροποίηση
της εργασίας (.)
because he knows the children **very**
well he **can** immediately **do**
differentiation of work (.)
- 5 μπορεί να μην είναι διαφοροποίηση
τμημάτων αρχάριος μη αρχάριος (.)
it may not be differentiation of
classes into beginners non
beginners (.)
- 6 αλλά διαφοροποίηση της εργασίας (.)
but differentiation of work (.)
- 7 **κάμνει το** ο ίδιος ο δάσκαλος
this is done by the teacher
(recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

Next, the rationale given for the other school's parallel classes provision is discussed. Outer City Primary School serves a catchment area on the outskirts of the capital of Cyprus, which is next to an industrial zone where immigrants work. In the spring of 2011 the school had 256 students, of whom seven were considered as needing GAL teaching. In June of 2011, two more students, who had just arrived in Cyprus, were added to the GAL population of the school. The MEC allocated six extra 40-minute teaching periods per week to the school in order to provide GAL teaching to its students who were not yet fluent in Greek. However, only four hours were used for parallel classes and the remaining two hours were used to offer supportive teaching to an academically very low achieving student who was not a GAL pupil. Two parallel classes were organised in the school, with each meeting for two 40-minute teaching periods every week. One mainstream teacher was responsible for these classes.

As the head-teacher explained in the interview (extract 4.5), there were very few students with GAL in her school and they were very different in terms of their age: three were 7 years old and four were between 10 and 12. As a result, she organised two parallel classes and divided the GAL children into these classes according to their age: one group for three GAL students who were attending the mainstream grade 1 and one group for four older students who were attending mainstream grades 5 and 6. So, she used broad age criteria to group the pupils.

Extract 4.5

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** έχουν οργανωθεί δύο (4)
two {parallel classes} have been
organised (4)
- 2 ε... τα μωρά μας **εις** το σχολείο **εν**
ήταν πάρα πολλά που... (.)
e... our {GAL} children **at** the school
were **not** a lot that is... (.)
- 3 **έννεεν** πάρα πολλά τα αλλόγλωσσά μας (.)
our other-language children **are not** a
lot (.)
- 4 ε... δυο
e... two {parallel classes}
- 5 =ένα με μικρά (.) παιδιά πρώτης τάξης
=one with small (.) children from
grade 1
- 6 =**τζιαι** ένα με μεγάλα παιδιά (.)
=**and** one with older children (.)
- 7 ε... ηλικιακά έγινε ο χωρισμός (.)
ηλικιακά
e... the division was done according
to their age (.) age
(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

In the interview (extract 4.6), the head-teacher explained her rationale regarding the manner of organising the parallel classes in her school. She said that she could not follow the MEC's recommendation to divide the GAL pupils into two different levels according to their fluency in Greek, because she considered it inappropriate to put a first grade child together with a sixth grade one in the same class (line 1) and this was why she decided to divide those attending parallel classes based on age (lines 2-3).

Extract 4.6

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** **εν** υπήρχε λογική να βάλουμε ένα μωρό
της έκτης μ' ένα της πρώτης (.)
it would be illogical to put one child
from sixth {grade} with one from first
{grade} (.)

- 2 έτσι **εχωρίστηκαν** τα μικρά μωρά που **εν**
 ήταν δύσκολες περιπτώσεις γιατί
 επέρασαν που νηπιαγωγείο πρώτα (.)
 thus the small children that were **not**
 difficult cases because **they went**
 through pre-school first **were**
 divided(.)
- 3 ε... **τζιαι** τα μεγάλα μωρά
 e... from the older children
- (recorded interview, 14/5/2011)*

As already mentioned, during the interview the head-teacher stated that the GAL children were organised in the two parallel classes according to their age. However, in her school, by chance, the age organisation also matched Greek language proficiency level. This was because the younger children had attended nursery school in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and therefore were proficient in spoken Greek, whereas the older ones had spent less time in Cyprus and thus had weaker Greek language skills.

So, in the two schools, Inner City and Outer City, the arrival of the policy document for PIGLLC presented the head-teachers with difficulties concerning whether to organise these classes based on pupils' level of Greek language proficiency or according to their age. The two head-teachers arrived at different solutions to their organisational problems and explained the different rationales behind their choices. On the one hand, in Inner City Primary School, the head-teacher organised the parallel classes based on the GAL pupils' mainstream classes and transferred the responsibility to the teachers who had to differentiate their teaching in their parallel classes in order to provide for the needs of the different levels of the students. On the other hand, in Outer City school the head-teacher divided the GAL pupils into two classes according to their age and by chance the age organisation also matched their Greek language proficiency level, but it was the older pupils who had weaker language proficiency.

It is notable that in both schools some of the extra teaching hours for PIGLLC were not used for this purpose. According to the CERE's study (Elia et al., 2009), the hours given to schools for organising GAL teaching did not seem to have a significant positive effect on the school progress of the children involved. The researchers argue that one possible explanation is that schools and teachers do not adequately use these hours. Hadjioannou (2006) presents a case study of a Greek-

Cypriot primary school that has a high percentage of migrant children, pointing out that:

“[S]upport hours are generic in nature, and usually schools use them to cover miscellaneous school needs such as scheduling, secretarial duties, event planning, supporting at risk students, and providing supportive language instruction to other-language students” (ibid.: 404).

During my research, I discovered that some of the hours were not used at all for providing the students with GAL teaching. In the case of Inner City school, even though the head-teacher said in the interview that six parallel classes were organised, during my five months of fieldwork in the school I only saw two classes taking place. When I asked for clarification from her regarding the days and times when the rest of the parallel classes were taking place, she did not provide me with a clear answer. In the case of Outer City, the head-teacher admitted in an informal discussion that, even though six extra teaching periods were given to the school for organising PIGLLC, only four were used for this purpose and the remaining two, as mentioned above, were allocated to providing supportive teaching to an academically very low-achieving student. In sum, it could be argued that the parallel classes in Outer City Primary School were insufficient for providing GAL learners with an educational experience that could be described as intensive. In the next section, the focus is on the decisions made regarding who was to be tasked with delivering GAL lessons.

4.2 No guidance instructions from the MEC regarding who is going to teach these classes in the absence of GAL specialists

Another problem is the absence of specialised GAL teachers in Greek-Cypriot schools and the lack of training among mainstream teachers. In the circular for PIGLLC, the MEC makes no reference to this issue and how schools should deal with it. It only promises the organisation of relevant seminars for mainstream teachers:

“Teacher training. To achieve the effective implementation of the programmes for teaching the Greek language, but also, generally the policy for intercultural education, relevant training for teachers is required. Within this context the MEC is going to broaden the implementation of training programmes on the subjects of intercultural education, teaching in classes with students with different mother tongues and cultural identity and the teaching of Greek as a second or/and foreign language during the school year 2008-9, especially for the teachers who will undertake teaching in the programmes for Greek language learning” (MEC, 2008a: 2, emphasis as in original, my translation).

However, as Valanidou and Jones (2012: 138) argue, “[e]ven though the MEC and other institutions have made efforts to provide materials and training opportunities, they do not meet the teachers’ immediate needs which are practical support and application”. A number of other Greek-Cypriot researchers have also concluded that teachers are inadequately prepared and feel insecure when working with GAL pupils (Hadjioannou, 2006; Trimikliniotis, 2004).

In what follows, I describe the localised solutions that the head-teachers in Inner City and Outer City developed in their attempt to solve the problem of the absence of GAL specialists among the school staff. In the interview, the head-teacher of Inner City primary school explained her criteria for selecting the teachers who were responsible for the parallel classes:

Extract 4.7

- 1 **Inner City head-teacher:** επιλέχθηκαν ώστε να έχει από όλες **τες**
τάξεις και τετάρτη και πέμπτη και
έχτη(2)
they {the teachers} were selected so
that there are from all **the** classes
{grades} 4 and 5 and 6 (2)
- 2 **τζιαι** μετά επειδή όλοι οι δάσκαλοι
ήταν ικανοί **ας πούμεν** (.)
and also because all the teachers were
let’s say competent (.)
- 3 **εν είχεν** κανένα που να έχει ειδικότητα
σε **τούντο** θέμα ή να είναι το μάστερ
του ή **ξέρω** ‘γω (.)
there wasn’t anyone who is specialised
in **this** issue or has a masters or **I**
don’t know (.)

- 4 ε... αναλόγως με **τες** ώρες μετά **τζιαι**
το πρόγραμμα που **εβόλενε** (.)
e... then according to **the** hours
{given by the MEC to the school} **and**
to **fit** the school programme (.)
- 5 ε... ίσως είδαμε **τζιαι** το... ποια τάξη
έχει πολλά μωρά (.) αλλόγλωσσα
e... maybe we **also** took into account
which class has more other-language
children
- (recorded interview, 6/5/2011)*

In this extract the head-teacher explains that one of the criteria was that class teachers from all the mainstream grades would get extra teaching hours. Teachers with more GAL pupils in their mainstream classes were more eligible to be given a teaching hour (line 5). According to the head-teacher, these criteria were put forward because there was no one among the teachers of the school who was specialised in teaching GAL or had a masters degree in this area (line 3), and hence, the mainstream teachers were all considered equally competent to teach parallel intensive Greek classes (line 2). In line 4, the head-teacher adds one more criterion to the selection of teachers for parallel classes, which was not pedagogical but organisational: “to fit the school programme”, which would seem to imply that teachers who were under hours on their contracts would be given GAL teaching to make up the deficit.

In contrast to the head-teacher in Inner City, who spread the extra teaching periods amongst the mainstream class teachers, the head-teacher in Outer City allocated the teaching periods for parallel classes to one mainstream teacher, following advice from the schools inspector⁴².

Extract 4.8

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** ήταν οδηγία **που** την προϊστάμενη (.)
it was a direction **from** the superior
{school inspector} (.)
- 2 αλλά **εσυμφωνούσα** **τζιαι** εγώ μαζί της (.)
but **I also agreed** with her (.)
- 3 να **τες** αναλάβει ένας εκπαιδευτικός **τες**
περιόδους (.)
that one teacher should undertake the
periods (.)
- 4 **εν** ήθελα να πάρουν (.) πολλοί **που**
λίγες (.)

⁴² The MEC in its policy documents gives directions to schools that the decisions about parallel classes should be taken by a group of people (class teacher, head-teacher, school inspector and educational psychologist).

5 I **didn't** want (.) many {teachers} to
 take few {periods} (.)
 ήταν επιλογή μου
 it was my choice
 (recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

Justifying her rationale behind her decision to make one mainstream teacher responsible for all these hours instead of spreading them among many mainstream teachers, the head-teacher provided three reasons. First of all, she admitted that she felt worried about mainstream class teachers undertaking the parallel lessons for intensive Greek language teaching because she saw a risk that these lessons might end up being like supportive teaching⁴³. This becomes obvious in the following extract.

Extract 4.9

1 **Outer City head-teacher:** εν θα 'δινα όμως με τίποτε μια περίοδο
 στον δάσκαλο της τάξης (.)
 I would **never** give one period to the
 class teacher (.)
 2 ε... **τζιαι** υπάρχει πρόγραμμα ειδικό σε
 τούτα τα μαθήματα των αλλογλώσσων (.)
 e... **and** there is specific programme
 for **these** lessons for other-language
 children
 3 ειδική... ειδικό βιβλίο (.) ύλη (.)
 specific... specific book (.)
 content(.)
 4 ενώ ο δάσκαλος της τάξης (.)
 whereas the class teacher (.)
 5 μπορεί να πέσει στην παγίδα να του
κάμει (.)
 can fall into the trap to **do** {teach}
 him {the GAL student} (.)
 6 κάτι που **έκαμεν** μες την τάξη
 something that **he** {the teacher} **did**
 {taught} in the {mainstream} class
 7 **=ας πούμεν** κάτι που **εκάμαν** οι
 άλλοι... (.)
=for example something that the others
 {the mainstream students} **did...** (.)
 8 να τελειώσει κάτι μες το τετράδιό του
 to complete something in his writing
 book
 (...)
 9 **άμαν πιάνει** ο κάθε δάσκαλος τους
 δικούς του (.)

⁴³ Here, the head-teacher refers to the pre-existing policy measure for supportive teaching (see section 3.2). According to this measure, during the week, GAL pupils are pulled out from their mainstream classes to be given supportive instruction, which is usually provided to them by their class teacher. The content of this instruction is generic in nature and most of the times takes the form of providing help with homework (Hadjioannou, 2006). Therefore, supportive instruction is not necessarily GAL instruction.

10 **if** each {mainstream class} teacher
 takes {withdraws from his mainstream
 class} his {GAL} students (.)
 υπάρχει κίνδυνος
 there is a risk that
 (...)
 11 το μάθημα να παίρνει τη μορφή
 ενίσχυσης(.)
 the {parallel} lesson takes the form
 of support(.)
 12 αλλά δεν **έσκει** καμία σχέση με την
 ενίσχυση το μάθημα των αλλογλωσσών (.)
 but the lesson for other-language
 students **has** nothing to do with
 supportive teaching(.)
 13 **κάνουμεν** βιβλίο ξεχωριστό (.) ύλη
 ξεχωριστή
we do {teach} a separate book (.)
 separate content

(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

In the extract above, the head-teacher of Outer City argues that the extra teaching periods for parallel classes should never be given to mainstream class teachers (line 1). She justifies this decision by explaining that the mainstream class teachers can ‘fall into the trap’ to use these hours to help the GAL students with the mainstream class lessons instead of teaching them Greek intensively (lines 4-8). In lines 9-13, the head-teacher offers further justification about this, and this is the ‘risk’ that the parallel lessons take the form of supportive teaching. She also supports the idea that the PIGLLC lessons should have separate books and content. Here, the head-teacher seems to worry that the parallel lessons will end up being about providing help with the mainstream lessons instead of specialist PIGLLC.

As a second justification for her decision, the head-teacher of Outer City talked about her experience from other schools in which she had worked and admitted that she was previously confronted with difficulties in trying to get mainstream teachers to teach the parallel lessons. As she pointed out, often those in her previous schools, instead of teaching the GAL lesson, did not withdraw the GAL pupils from their mainstream classes and used it as an hour off to do other things like marking. As she considered it to be a moral obligation of the teacher and the school to help and support the education of GAL students, she did not want them to abuse the provision in this way.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Indeed, during my fieldwork in both schools, many times I observed GAL lessons being lost because of other school activities taking place at the same time (like school celebrations, school trips and visits, etc). In total, seven GAL lessons were cancelled in Inner City Primary School, whereas six

Extract 4.10

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** ελέγχω πάρα πολύ την κατάσταση (.)
I check the situation very much (.)
- 2 **σα** διευθύντρια **έτυχε** μου στο παρελθόν(.)
as a head-teacher **it happened to me** in the past (.)
- 3 να απαιτήσω να γίνονται οι ώρες (.)
όπως πρέπει να γίνονται
to demand that the hours {the GAL lessons} take place (.) as they should take place (...)
- 4 δηλαδή εάν ο εκπαιδευτικός καθυστερήσει να πάει να τα πάρει (.)
εμένα με ενοχλεί (.)
that is if the teacher delays to withdraw them {the GAL students} (.)
it bothers me (.)
- 5 με ενοχλεί πάρα **πολλά** να διευθύνω ένα σχολείο στο οποίο ε... (.) **εν** λειτουργεί η ηθική
it bothers me **very** much to run a school at which e... (.) ethics are **not** functioning (...)
- 6 **εν** θέμα ηθικής (.) όταν (.) **έσκει**ς χρέος απέναντι στην εκπαίδευση των μωρών (.)
it is an ethical issue (.) when (.) **you have** an obligation for the education of the children (.)
- 7 **τζι** εγώ **σα** διεύθυνση σχολείου απαιτώ (.) να γίνεται η ώρα τούτη όπως πληρώνεσαι για να γίνεται
and as the head of the school I demand (.) that this hour takes place as you get paid to do it
(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

Not only did the head-teacher not allocate the teaching periods for parallel classes to any of the mainstream teachers, but also she pointed out how she had very carefully selected a specific teacher, Mrs B, to carry out the task:

Extract 4.11

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** ειδικά **τες** ώρες των αλλογλώσσων (.)
especially **the** hours for other-language children (.)
- 2 επιλέγω να... εκπαιδευτικό ο οποίος να είναι υπεύθυνος
I choose... teacher who is responsible (...)

GAL lessons were cancelled in Outer City Primary School. Of these lessons, three were rescheduled in Outer City and only one was in Inner City.

3 η... ((όνομα)) ήταν ένας άνθρωπος πάρα
πολλά υπεύθυνος
Mrs B is a **very** responsible person
(...)

4 ήταν μια **πολλά** καλή περίπτωση για
'μένα
for me it was a **very** good case
=αφού **εν** υπάρχουν ειδικοί δάσκαλοι (.)
=since there **aren't** specialised
teachers (.)

6 ένας έμπειρος δάσκαλος να διδάξει
ελληνικά (.) σε α... αλλόγλωσσα μωρά
an experienced teacher to teach Greek
(.) to a... other-language children
(...)

7 ούτως ώστε να μην έχω **έννοια** όλο τον
χρόνο (.)
{I choose one responsible teacher} so
I won't **worry** the whole year (.)

8 ότι κάποιος **ας πούμε εν έκαμε** το
μάθημά του όπως έπρεπε (.)
that someone **for example didn't do** his
lesson as he should (.)

9 ήξερα ότι όταν αναλάμβανε (.) το
μάθημα κάποιος πολύ υπεύθυνος
εκπαιδευτικός(.)
I knew that when a very responsible
teacher was undertaking (.) the
lesson(.)

10 τα μαθήματα **εγίνονταν** ε... στην ώρα
τους με πρόγραμμα με σιόχους
οργανωμένα
the lessons **were taking place** e... on
time with programme with goals
organised

(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

In this extract, we see the head-teacher of Outer City pointing out that her criterion for selecting the teacher who was responsible for the parallel classes was that this was 'a responsible teacher', whom she could trust to make sure that the GAL pupils would be withdrawn from their mainstream classes on time for the GAL lessons, and that these lessons would be well organised with clear goals. In this way, the head-teacher seemed to be trying to make sure that the parallel lessons would take place as scheduled by the weekly school programme. She then added another criterion that Mrs B was 'a very good case' to be assigned the parallel lessons, because apart from being a very responsible person, she was also an experienced teacher. It is useful to mention here that neither Mrs B nor any of the other teachers in the school were specialised in GAL teaching.

The allocation of the extra teaching hours per week in the absence of a GAL specialist among the school staff appears to have posed one more problem to the

head-teacher in Outer City Primary School. She had to face a very negative reaction from one of the mainstream teachers in the school concerning her decision to assign all the hours to one mainstream teacher instead of spreading them among several teachers (extract 4.12, lines 1-3 and 5). She told me that this teacher perceived parallel lessons as ‘easy’ compared to teaching a big mainstream class, and therefore, she was hostile to the idea of merely one teacher being the beneficiary of these extra ministry periods (lines 6-9). However, the head-teacher said that she resisted the pressure (line 4).

Extract 4.12

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** είχα μια επίθεση **που...** (.)
I had an attack **from...** (.)
- 2 αμφισβήτησε την απόφασή μου (.)
she questioned my decision (.)
- 3 **τζιαι** αμφισβήτησε το γεγονός
and she questioned the fact
- 4 =βέβαια **εν** με πείραξε καθόλου **τζιαι**
ήμουν κάθετη (2)
=of course I was **not** bothered at all
and I was determined to keep to my
decision (2)
- 5 αμφισβήτησε το γεγονός ότι έπρεπε να
τες πάρει ένας τες περιόδους
αλλογλώσσων
she questioned the fact that one
{teacher} should take the periods for
other-language children
(...)
- 6 **τζιείνη** μπορεί να αντέδρασε
γιατί...(.)
she might reacted because... (.)
- 7 χωρίς να **έσιει** ενδιαφέρον πραγματικό
για τα μωρά (.)
without **having** real concern for these
{GAL} children (.)
- 8 να αντέδρασε γιατί... **εθεωρούσεν** ότι
εν εύκολες περίοδοι (.)
she reacted because... **she considered**
that these periods **are** easy (.)
- 9 **τζιαι** έπρεπε να τες πιάσει...
and she had to take them...
(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

It is clear, then, that there is a contrast between the ways in which the head-teachers in the two schools I researched found local solutions to the problem posed by the policy text regarding how to allocate the MEC’s extra periods for parallel classes when there was no GAL specialist among the school staff. However, it seems that in both schools the criteria used when allocating the hours for PIGLLC were not pedagogical and certainly not focused on issues related to the important principles

for GAL teaching and learning. In Inner City, the head-teacher spread the extra teaching hours per week among the mainstream class teachers who were then responsible for withdrawing the pupils with GAL from their mainstream class so as to deliver a parallel class to them. As small GAL classes were considered easier to teach than mainstream ones, by giving as many people as possible one parallel teaching period per week, she was using the extra hours to lighten the teaching commitments of staff. In addition, she stated that the classes had to fit with the already decided upon school weekly programme. It can be argued, therefore, that in Inner City Primary the needs of the GAL students were put second to local school context in terms of its perceived needs. On the other hand, in Outer City, the approach of the head-teacher was choosing one very responsible and experienced mainstream teacher to assign the extra teaching hours, which met with hostility from other staff and this resonates with the situation noted by some researchers in relation to the UK. Creese (2000) and Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) argue that EAL pedagogies that address the students' individual needs are considered as easier work, having a lower prestige than mainstream subject delivery, which involve whole class teaching of curriculum content. In sum, the above discussion has shown how in both focal schools GAL teaching was afforded low status. However, in Outer City School some efforts were made to ensure that this provision was not simply used to reduce teaching timetables. In the next section, the matter of assessment of Greek language levels is discussed.

4.3 No clear direction about how to assess pupils' Greek language proficiency

Another problem that was encountered by the head-teachers in Inner City and Outer City primary schools when enacting the policy for PIGLLC was which language assessment measures should be used to select students to attend these classes. In the circular for PIGLLC, the MEC recommends schools to use a test to assess students' competence in Greek:

“The related teaching materials that have been sent to schools with the title ‘Initial assessment of the degree of knowledge of the Greek language’ can be

used to assess the degree of knowledge of Greek” (MEC, 2008a: 2, my translation).

The test for the assessment of students’ Greek language competence was developed by the Greek Pedagogical Institute and was then imported into Cyprus. The MEC sent this test to Greek-Cypriot state primary schools as part of the first circular that was developed with regards to ‘intercultural education’ on 29th October 2002. In a later circular regarding PIGLLC, sent to schools in 2008, the MEC suggests that this test could be used for identifying students to attend parallel classes⁴⁵, but this was not mandatory. In my study, the MEC’s assessment test was used in Outer City but not in Inner City.

What the head-teacher of Inner City did to select children to attend PIGLLC, was to register all children who had one or two immigrant parents as automatically GAL students. This is perhaps an attempt to gain extra teaching periods for her school because, if she had used the MEC’s initial assessment test to determine which students needed intensive Greek language teaching, then probably, the identified number would have been smaller and as a result, the amount of extra hours given to the school would have been lower.⁴⁶

However, the head-teacher’s practice of going by the registration of the students was criticised by one teacher who strongly resisted the perception that all the children whose parents were migrants were automatically GAL students. This teacher happened to be Mrs A, who actually had training in intercultural education and had an immigrant parent herself (Mrs A’s multilingual and multicultural family background will be explained in subsection 5.1.1). She was assigned to teach one of the six parallel classes in the school. As Mrs A said in an interview with me (extract 4.13), she had looked very closely at the six students that were registered in her parallel class at the start of the new school year. She had assessed each child individually and discovered that three of them were already proficient and

⁴⁵ As a Greek-Cypriot myself, I have connections with a number of educators in the Greek-Cypriot community. From discussions with them, I realised that the MEC’s initial assessment test is not well known and many schools do not have it.

⁴⁶ This is probably a common practice among primary schools in the Greek-Cypriot community. In the 2012-2013 school year, the MEC created an online platform onto which head-teachers can register the GAL students in their schools. In this way, the MEC can more easily control that the same students are not registered for language support for more than two years.

communicatively competent in Greek, even though they had migrant parents. So she decided not to withdraw these children from their mainstream classrooms for GAL lessons, but did not tell the head-teacher.

Extract 4.13

- 1 **Mrs A:** **εξεκίνησα** με πολλούς (.)
I started with many {students} (.)
2 κάποια μωρά (.) **που** μόνη μου (.) χωρίς να το πω (.)
some children (.) **by** myself (.) without saying it (.)
3 αποφάσισα να μην τα παίρνω ε... στη διδασκαλία της
ελληνικής σαν ξένης
I decided not to withdraw them e... for teaching them
Greek as a foreign language
(....)
4 τούτα **εν** μωρά τα οποία... (.) **εν** γεννημένα στην Κύπρο
(.) **που** ξένους γονείς (.)
these **are** children which... (.) **were** born in Cyprus
(.) **from** foreign parents (.)
5 **εθεώρησα το** σαχλό να τα (.) να τα βάλω μαζί με τα (.)
μωρά που έχουν μητρική (.) ξένη
I considered it foolish to (.) to put them together
with children that have a foreign language as their
mother tongue
6 =δηλαδή **εμάθαν** την ξένη γλώσσα εκτός Κύπρου **τζιαι**
μετά **ήρταν** (.) να μάθουν τα... τα ελληνικά (.)
=that is **they learnt** the foreign language outside
Cyprus **and** then came to learn the... the Greek
language (.)
7 διότι **τούντα** μωρά μιλούν **σα** μητρική τα ελληνικά
because **these** children speak Greek **as** their mother
tongue

(recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

From the above extract it seems that Mrs A strongly feels that a number of the children who were born and raised in Cyprus with immigrant parents have Greek as their mother tongue, and thus, cannot be classified with children who came to the country later on in their life.

Moreover, Mrs A seemed generally disappointed with the way in which the head-teacher had organised the parallel GAL classes and this is obvious in the following excerpt:

Extract 4.14

- 1 **Mrs A:** νιώθω **πολλά**... (2) απογοητευμένη να το πω... (.)
I feel **very**... (2) let's say disappointed... (.)
2 **εν ηξέρω** (.) **εν μ' αρέσκει** (2) **εν μου αρέσκει να με**
γίνεται καλά η δουλειά
I don't know (.) **I don't like** (2) **I don't like it**
when the work is not done properly
(....)

- 3 αν θα κάμεις ρε παιδί μου να 'σεις (.)
if you are going to do it you should have (.)
4 το minimum των απαιτούμενων ωρών για να γίνεται σωστά
η δουλειά (.)
the minimum of the required {teaching} hours in order
to do the work right (.)
5 =φυσικά (.) μντ (.) εν τζιαι το... (.) το επιχείρημα
καλύτερα έστω τζιαι... τούτο παρά τίποτε
=of course (.) it is also the... (.) the argument at
least this is better than nothing
6 =αλλά (.) εγώ... είχα τες αφιβολίες μου
=but (.) I... doubted
(...)
7 αλλά έσεις τζιαι... (.) διευθυντές οι οποίοι... (.)
επιμένουν πάρα πολλά
but there are also... (.) head-teachers that... (.)
insist very much
(...)
8 η διεύθυνση παίζει πάρα πολλά μεγάλο ρόλο σε τούτα
the school manager plays a very big role in these
(recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

In this extract the teacher appears very disappointed and is critical of the head-teacher's decision to spread the extra teaching hours given to the school to organise PIGLLC among the teachers. She believes that the restricted time she has is an obstacle for her and that 'the work is not done properly'. She stresses the crucial role of the head-teacher in this issue. It is notable that Mrs A happened to be a teacher who had previously taught PIGLLC in another school. As she stated in an informal conversation, she considered herself more suitable to teach these lessons than her colleagues who were unqualified in such work.

In contrast to Inner City school, the school staff at Outer City used the MEC's initial assessment test to identify which students needed intensive Greek language teaching. As the head-teacher said when interviewed (extract 4.15), at the start of the new school year she had given Mrs B the responsibility to withdraw all the children whose parents were not Greek-Cypriots in order to complete the test so as to assess their Greek language competence. While doing my fieldwork, I realised that the completed tests were kept on a bookcase in the principal's office and were part of the records of the school.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ On this bookcase, I noticed that there was a box file titled “Ενίσχυση Αλλόγλωσσων Μαθητών” (Support for Other-language Students), which was used to keep record for the parallel classes operating in the school. In particular, the MEC’s circular for PIGLLC delivery were included in this box file, together with the school’s weekly programme for parallel classes, as well as information about the GAL students attending parallel classes. In addition, this box file contained tests for their initial assessment of Greek language proficiency.

Extract 4.15

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** **που τις** πρώτες μέρες η ((όνομα))
 during the first days {of the school
 year} Mrs B
 (...) **έπιανέν τα τζιαι έλεξε** (.) **έκαμέν τους**
2 διαγωνισματάκια
 she took them {withdraw students from
 their mainstream classrooms} **and**
 checked (.) **she did tests to them**
 (...) **για να δει το επίπεδό τους**
3 in order to see their level
 (...) **εβοήθησά την**
4 **I helped her**
 (...) **ήβρα** αξιολογήσεις
5 **I found** tests
 (recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

So it is clear from the above that the head-teachers solved the problem of selecting students to attend these classes in different ways. In Inner City, the head-teacher registered every child with at least one parent who was a migrant as automatically a GAL pupil. In Outer City, the school staff used the MEC's initial assessment test. At the start of the new school year, Mrs B used it to assess migrants' level of Greek and thus identify the children who needed to attend parallel classes. However, it seems that the process of selecting pupils to attend PIGLLC was problematic in both schools, especially in the first one. While doing my fieldwork, I realised that most of the children in the parallel intensive Greek classes were already communicatively competent in Greek and had spent most of their life in Cyprus. The question then arises as to why were they in these classes (this will explained in detail in chapters 6 and 7).

4.4 No clear direction regarding from which mainstream subject classes the pupils should be withdrawn

In the circular for PIGLLC, the MEC recommends that:

“The other-language students can be withdrawn from certain subjects, regarded as difficult or not so necessary for these pupils, like for example religion, history or some periods of the auxiliary subjects” (MEC, 2008a: 2, my translation).

The MEC proposes that GAL pupils can be withdrawn from their mainstream classes in order to attend parallel classes during ‘auxiliary subjects’, which refers to such as geography, religion and history. The policy text does not explain why it recommends these lessons and not others. It could be that the possible subjects chosen for withdrawal are linked to the view that GAL students as ‘the other’ have different histories and religions, thus not needing to learn about their new country as much as their Greek Cypriot counterparts.

In Inner City and Outer City primary schools, the head-teachers dealt with the problem in different ways according to their own opinions. In Inner City, as the head-teacher said, she had not established a school strategy concerning the mainstream lessons from which the GAL pupils should be withdrawn, but instead, she considered the individual teachers responsible for taking this decision.

Extract 4.16

- 1 **Inner City head-teacher:** **τούτον είδεν το ο δάσκαλος (.)**
 this was up to the teacher (.)
2 **εν ορίσαμεν ε... για όλους μίαν**
 πολιτικήν ενιαία
 we haven't set one united policy for
 everyone
 (...)
3 **αφήσαμεν το στον δάσκαλο τούτο**
 we left this to the teacher
 (recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

In this extract we see the head-teacher of Inner City transferring the responsibility concerning the mainstream lessons from which the GAL pupils should be withdrawn to the individual teachers. The teachers had to decide when the parallel classes they were responsible for would take place during the week as well as from which mainstream lessons the GAL pupils would be withdrawn.

In Outer City, the head-teacher said that she considered the subjects of physical education, music and art as very useful for the GAL children since they could participate in the lessons, even if their competence in Greek was limited, had opportunities to express themselves in alternative ways, and they enjoyed them (extract 4.17, lines 2-3 and 6-7). Also, through these lessons they were given the opportunity to participate in school events (lines 4-5). Based on these ideas, she tried

to ensure that the GAL pupils were not withdrawn from their mainstream classes during these subject lessons (line 1).

Extract 4.17

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** σίγουρα ελάβαμεν υπόψη να **μεν** τους
βγάζει **που** γυμναστική ή **που** τέχνη ή
που τέτοια μαθήματα
we certainly took into account that
she {Mrs B} **doesn't** withdraw them {the
GAL students} **from** physical education
or **from** art or **from** such lessons
(...)
- 2 **εν** τα μαθήματα που απολαμβάνουν τα
μωρά **τούτα** (.)
they are the lessons that **these**
children enjoy (.)
- 3 η γυμναστική **εν** το μάθημα που
απολαμβάνουν (.)
physical education **is** the lesson they
enjoy (.)
- 4 η μουσική **εν** ωφέλιμη (.) γιατί (.)
music **is** beneficial (.) because (.)
- 5 μπορούν να συμμετέχουν **τζιαι στες**
εκδηλώσεις του σχολείου (.)
they can **also** participate in **the**
events of the school (.)
- 6 η τέχνη **πάλε εν** ένα μάθημα που **εν**
χρειάζεται να ξέρεις ελληνικά για να
εκφραστείς (.)
art **is also** a subject for which you
don't need to know Greek to express
yourself (.)
- 7 ούτε στη μουσική ούτε στην τέχνη
neither in music nor in art
(...)
- 8 **εν τζιαι** πιο χαλαρά (.) **εν** πιο
ξεκούραστα (.)
they {these subjects} **are** more lax (.)
they are more relaxed (.)
- 9 μπορούν να δείξουν **τες** δυνάμεις τους
they can show their abilities
(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

It seems, then, that the localised solution of the head-teacher in Inner City was rather passive in that she put the responsibility on the teachers to decide which mainstream subject classes to withdraw the GAL pupils from. On the other hand, the solution of the head-teacher in Outer City was to develop a strong school strategy for preventing withdrawing the GAL pupils from their mainstream classrooms during lessons, like art, music and physical education, for principled reasons, emphasising that this was a conscious selection. This leadership strategy was thought to be beneficial for the GAL children and so was made binding on school staff who were all expected to follow it. To summarise, the head-teacher in Inner City Primary School left it up to

staff to decide which classes to withdraw GAL pupils from, whereas her counterpart in Outer City Primary School, mandated which lessons that could not be missed by these pupils. However, neither head-teacher questioned the MEC's suggestion that subjects like history and religion could be times when parallel classes are held. The failure to see the importance of immigrant children learning about the host culture would appear to reinforce the notion of their being othered, a matter elaborated on in chapter 7. In what follows, the lack of objectives and curriculum content regarding PIGLLC is covered.

4.5 No guidelines concerning the teaching goals and content of PIGLLC

Another problem that the head-teachers had to face when enacting the policy for PIGLLC was the fact that the MEC's circular does not clarify what are the teaching goals and content for intensive Greek language teaching. The MEC asks schools to organise intensive Greek language lessons, but neither provides a curriculum nor a syllabus to facilitate this. The head-teachers' solutions to the problem of the absence of curriculum guidance, again, were different. In Inner City Primary School, the head-teacher let the individual teachers decide upon the content of their intensive Greek language lessons, as she put it: "we have left this to each teacher" (Inner City head-teacher, recorded interview, 6/5/2011). By contrast, in Outer City Primary School, the head-teacher guided and advised Mrs B with regards to the content of intensive Greek language lessons. Even though the head-teacher did not have any kind of GAL training, she provided and recommended to Mrs B several textbooks and other teaching materials.

Extract 4.18

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | Outer City head-teacher: | εβοήθησά την (.)
I helped her (.) |
| 2 | | εν είσιεν ξανα-αναλάβει... αλλόγλωσσα
she had not undertaken... {a class
for} other-language children again
(...) |
| 3 | | επήρα της υλικό (.) επρότεινά της
βιβλία (.)
I took her teaching material (.) I
proposed her books
(...) |
| 4 | | ήβρα βιβλία
I found books |

5 (...) **εβοήθησά την** να μελετήσει **λίον** (.)
I helped her to study **a little bit** (.)
6 **τζιαί** μετά να ξεκινήσει
and then start {teaching}
(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

The textbooks and teaching material provided by the head-teacher were located in the library of the school. In the absence of an available classroom⁴⁸, it was decided that the school library was going to be the parallel classroom and so this is where all the lessons took place. There was also an attempt by both the head-teacher and Mrs B to make the library look like a teaching classroom. The teacher had her teaching material here, the students left their textbooks, there were bilingual dictionaries (one Bulgarian-Greek dictionary and one Romanian-Greek dictionary), and there was a board on the wall with the students' work.

Moreover, the head-teacher of Outer City requested that Mrs B inform her about the lesson goals and content throughout the school year. According to her, these goals were to include language skill learning as well as strategies for integrating the GAL pupils in the school environment. A common practice in Greek-Cypriot primary schools is where every one or two weeks mainstream teachers send to the head-teacher their lesson plans, which include their lesson goals and content. However, this practice is not commonly followed for supportive teaching and parallel classes. Hence, the head-teacher of Outer City by requesting that together with all the mainstream teachers in the school Mrs B should followed this practice for her parallel lessons would appear to have been demanding more rigour in what was being provided for GAL pupils than in many other Greek-Cypriot schools. In other words, this can be seen as an attempt not only to keep track of what was being taught in parallel classes, but also to afford GAL lessons the same value as mainstream lessons in the school.

Conclusion

As noted earlier, according to Ball (1997: 270), “policies pose problems to their subjects, problems that must be solved in context” and throughout this chapter I tried

⁴⁸ Surrounding the Outer City Primary School there was a newly developed and growing residential area and thus, in recent years the student population had increased rapidly. During the school year that my research was conducted, the number of the students exceeded the capacity of the school building and as a result, some mainstream classes were taking place in prefabricated blocks.

to describe the problems at the institutional level that the head-teachers in Inner City and Outer City faced when enacting the policy for PIGLLC. Although the MEC considers the GAL policy as problem solving, I have provided evidence that 'enactment' in reality involves head-teachers developing local solutions to the limitations of the policy document. The key issues regarding which are: i) no clear directions about how to organise parallel intensive Greek classes; ii) no guidelines concerning the teaching goals and content of intensive Greek lessons; iii) no guidance instructions from the MEC regarding who is going to teach these classes in the absence of GAL specialists; iv) no clear direction about how to assess pupils' Greek language proficiency; and v) no clear direction regarding from which mainstream subject classes the pupils are going to be withdrawn.

Ball goes further to argue that:

"policies are textual interventions into practice (...) The point is that we cannot predict or assume how they will be acted on, what their immediate effect will be, what room for manoeuvre actors will find for themselves" (1993: 12).

Indeed, the actors in the two schools found for themselves local solutions when enacting the policy for PIGLLC. Comparing their solutions, it can be seen that they solved their problems regarding GAL teaching in contrasting ways, according to their particular local context. Consequently, what I have described in this chapter is an exemplification of Ball's ideas about problems of policy enactment and solutions given in context.

The evidence from my naturally occurring data provided in this chapter supports the European Commission document's (2013) claim that the educational policy for migrant children in Cyprus is non-systematic and random. The diverse interpretations and practices of PIGLLC at the institutional level indicate a rather random response, which is based on factors other than a principled approach to GAL learning and teaching. Cable et al. (2004) explain a similar phenomenon in EAL education in England. They carried out research on the enactment of EAL beginners induction and withdrawal programmes in five secondary schools and found that, even though the stated purpose of the provision was to facilitate pupils in learning English, other related goals were expected to be pursued:

“Providing a more focused English language learning experience with a concentration on fewer subjects was seen as a high priority by one of the induction programme providers. Preparing students for the demands of the mainstream curriculum and confidence building were cited as important by one of the other providers. One of the respondents highlighted the opportunity for students and staff to establish close relationships in a safe and secure environment as being a key function of the withdrawal group” (ibid.: 8-9).

As Leung (2005a: 107) explains, these findings can be seen as interpretations of the EAL policy, which moved the focus away from EAL learning and teaching issues. This diversity of EAL interpretations and practices has resulted in the lack of a coherent EAL pedagogy that can benefit all students.

When comparing the different ways the head-teachers of the focal schools overcame the challenges they faced owing the vagueness of the PIGLLC policy, it would appear that their approaches were steered by some larger ideological considerations. In Inner City, the head-teacher was comfortable with the Hellenocentric ideology, which dominates the Greek-Cypriot educational system. This seemed to inform her approach and consequently, she worked in such a way as to, by and large, maintain the status quo despite the policy. The head-teacher organised the parallel classes by spreading the teaching hours among the mainstream class teachers. As she stated in the interview, six teaching hours were given to six different mainstream teachers and thus six parallel classes were organised. Her choice of pupils to attend these classes was not made on the basis of the test that the MEC suggests using, but instead she registered every child with at least one immigrant parent as a GAL pupil. The head-teacher did not seem to know or even care when the parallel classes were taking place in her school and what was in their content. She also did not seem to be aware of the fact that at least one teacher did not withdraw all the children as she had been asked to. It seems that her choice to spread the hours and her lack of concern about the functioning of the parallel classes downgraded the value and significance of the GAL teaching in the school.

I would call the approach that the head-teacher of Inner City adopted Hellenocentric and one which resisted multicultural influences. Maybe a way to characterise it is as an 'expedient approach' (Villarreal, 1999). According to Villarreal, this approach is "less threatening and closest to maintaining the status quo, minimally disrupting the standard way of doing things" (ibid.: 14), thus corrupting any efforts for change. It also minimises "the demands that a bilingual program will have on the existing teacher preparation programs, on existing teaching staff and administrators, and on the cost of education" (ibid.: 15).

On the other hand, in Outer City, different principles governed the head-teacher's overall approach and the enactment of the MEC's policy document was constrained in other ways. In this school, the head-teacher seemed to be trying to accommodate the change that was happening in society by developing a more principled approach. She played a crucial role in all the decisions taken about these classes. In particular, she organised the parallel classes by assigning all the teaching hours to one mainstream teacher who she trusted to deliver good practice. She co-operated with the teacher in deciding upon the mainstream subject classes from which to withdraw the GAL students and in planning the content of parallel lessons. Her choice of pupils to attend these classes was made on the basis of the MEC's test. Also, the head-teacher checked the progress of these lessons throughout the school year. The head-teacher in Outer City Primary School believed strongly in her organisational decisions, which she also discussed with the school inspector. Even though she faced negative reaction from one of the mainstream teachers, she held firm. As the head-teacher stated in the interview, by assigning the parallel classes to one carefully selected, 'responsible' teacher (as she called Mrs B) and by taking a crucial role in all organisational aspects, she ensured the best possible enactment of the policy. Moreover, she would not allow the perception to prevail that these are 'easy' lessons with neither syllabus nor control and only involve a small group of students.

What is very notable is that, even though the head-teachers' approaches were informed by different ideological considerations and even though they followed different routes in solving the problem of how to select students to attend parallel intensive Greek classes, in both schools children who were already communicatively competent in everyday spoken Greek-Cypriot dialect were selected to attend these classes. Why this was the case provides the focus of chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 5

CLASSROOM PROBLEMS FOR GAL TEACHERS

5.0 Introduction

According to Ball and his colleagues (Ball et al., 2012), there are different types of teachers in schools who do not have the same dispositions towards learning and teaching. This diversity of teachers cannot be ignored when studying educational policies by assuming that teachers will simply ‘implement’ policies. Instead, using their own understandings and interpretations of abstract policy ideas, they develop contextualised solutions to the difficulties that policy documents cause them (Ball, 1993: 12). In chapter 4, I argued that when the MEC’s policy document for PIGLLC reaches the institutions, it poses problems to head-teachers at the institutional level. In this chapter I am going to move to the level of the teachers. I am going to contend that the policy document for PIGLLC also poses problems to teachers about how to teach GAL in the classroom, since they are left without clear guidance about how to do it and are not adequately qualified to do so.

In chapters 3 and 4, where I examined the policy text for PIGLLC, I explained that it does not contain guidelines concerning the teaching goals and content for intensive Greek language teaching. The only reference made about the content of parallel lessons is a suggestion that teachers can use textbooks (without naming them) previously sent to schools:

“teachers can use in their teaching in classes for intensive learning of Greek the series of school textbooks that were sent up until today in school units, as well as those that will be sent during the current school year, which also include a new series of textbooks recently published that are expected to be sent from Greece” (MEC, 2008: 2, my translation).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Both of my focal teachers created their own teaching materials (worksheets, reading sheets and exercise sheets) and enriched their parallel lessons with texts and exercises from the textbooks proposed by the MEC. For some of her lessons, Mrs A did not use any teaching material at all, such as pictures or text.

However, previous research on the textbooks provided by the MEC revealed that they were developed by the Greek Ministry of Education⁵⁰ for the teaching of the Greek Diaspora and thus do not meet the needs of GAL children attending Greek-Cypriot schools (see Charalambous, 2009b). This study showed that, on the one hand, some of these textbooks require a higher level of linguistic proficiency than that of many GAL pupils, and on the other hand, those textbooks that are at an appropriate level of linguistic proficiency are too simplistic for pupils' cognitive maturity. Furthermore, since these textbooks target children of Greek or Greek-Cypriot origin who live outside Greece or Cyprus, they are often specific to particular cultural contexts and thus offer an incomprehensible learning context for some children, i.e. those who do not have any kind of Greek ethnicity (for a similar discussion on EAL instructional materials see Met, 1994). These findings support those of Elia and colleagues (Elia et al., 2009) and Valanidou and Jones (2012), who found that teachers regarded the materials provided as unsuitable and inappropriate for their GAL students' levels. Hadjioannou (2006: 410) went further to argue that: "[P]roblematic appears to be the lack of material for teaching Greek as a second language that is relevant to the Cypriot social/experiential context and appropriate for the particular other-language populations hosted in Cypriot schools".

Moreover, in chapter 4, I have explained that in the absence of specialised GAL teachers in Greek-Cypriot schools, PIGLLC are assigned to mainstream teachers, even though they generally lack adequate training in GAL teaching. This finding supports what Hadjioannou (2006: 410) has suggested:

“In general, Greek-Cypriot public school teachers are not adequately prepared for working with a diverse student body. Most of the teachers have had no or minimal training in teaching Greek as a second language or in designing and applying multicultural instructional practices. Therefore, many teachers who are involved with teaching other-language students either as language support providers or as homeroom teachers admit to ‘flying blind’

⁵⁰ In chapter 1, I have explained that the Greek-Cypriot curricula and textbooks are a replica of the ones used in Greece in an attempt to cultivate the Greek identity of young generations of Greek-Cypriots. Therefore, they contain many nationalistic elements (Angelides et al., 2003; Charalambous, 2009a; Frangoudaki and Dragona, 1997).

and often express their frustration at not being better prepared for these tasks”.⁵¹

Even though there are some training opportunities, in one extant study it is argued that the MEC “does not seem to pay sufficient attention to teacher in-service training so as to acquaint teachers with multicultural approaches [adequately]” (Angelides et al., 2004: 312; see also Hajisoteriou, 2013; Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007; Zembylas and Iasonos, 2010). Teachers who participated in Elia and colleagues’ (Elia et al., 2009) study also supported the view that the training provided by the MEC with regards to the content and organisation of the GAL teaching is inadequate.

It is clearly apparent that the teachers lack the necessary ‘infrastructure’, in the form of teaching material and training (Trimikliniotis, 2004). Consequently, they are left to their own devices to come up with solutions to the problems posed to them by the MEC’s PIGLLC policy text and hence, it is anticipated that the enactment of the policy at the level of the teachers is non-systematic and characterised by randomness (European Commission, 2013). In this chapter, I elaborate on the problems at the level of the teachers that emerged from my classroom observations and I show the different solutions provided when dealing with these problems. I focus on two teachers (Mrs A in Inner City School and Mrs B in Outer City School) and three parallel intensive Greek language classes (Mrs A’s class A and Mrs B’s classes B and C), which I observed over the period of five months that I conducted my fieldwork. But, before I continue to the analysis of my ethnographic fieldwork data, I am first going to give a more precise sense of the nature of the problems at the level of the teachers as identified by other researchers.

⁵¹ The poor training and preparation of teachers concerning additional language issues that I have mentioned in relation to Cyprus is not atypical. Even in ‘old’ immigration countries, such as Scotland, research has indicated that much more systematic training for EAL teachers is still required (Foley et al., 2013). Regarding England, another ‘old’ immigration country, research has shown that, the requirement for teachers to demonstrate preparation in relation to EAL is understated, even though multilingual classrooms are an everyday reality for many of them (Costley, 2014). Hadjioannou and Hutchinson (2010: 92) suggest that what should be provided to teachers is: “long-term theoretical coursework combined with authentic, hands-on experiences (...) to prepare [them to] have both adequate content and methodological knowledge to teach [additional language] effectively”.

5.0.1 Teachers' solutions and remaining problems

The Greek-Cypriot MEC has recently assigned to the Centre for Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE) to carry out a study in order to evaluate policy measures for supportive teaching and PIGLLC in primary education. The teachers who participated in the CERE's study conducted by Elia and colleagues (Elia et al., 2009) pointed out the need to have a curriculum for GAL teaching, suitable teaching material, and appropriate tests to diagnose and assess pupils' level of competence in Greek. In addition, they supported the argument that the training provided by the MEC with regards to the content and organisation of the GAL teaching is inadequate, and strongly advocated systematic training. Taking into consideration the inadequate training and limited guidance, the teachers expressed the opinion that they were doing the best they could to respond to the demand to provide GAL teaching.

According to CERE's study (Elia et al., 2009), the teachers emphasised that the fact that there is no GAL curriculum caused them problems. They tried to adjust the content of their GAL teaching to respond to the needs of their GAL pupils. In general, they emphasised teaching vocabulary and speaking skills to 'beginner' students who were 6-8 years old, whereas they concentrated on teaching grammar and writing skills to older 'non-beginner' students. Pictures were reported as being an important teaching tool for the learning of vocabulary and writing skills. Simultaneously, the teachers emphasised that they were facing communication problems especially with 'beginner' students, and many times they could not help them since they did not have the necessary training to identify the needs of their pupils and thus, be able to organise effective lessons that meet them. Valanidou and Jones' (2012) report another problem that the teachers encountered, whereby even though they were able to communicate, they faced difficulties when trying to teach Greek syntax, grammar and orthography.

Valanidou and Jones' (2012) study also found that the use of GCD in the classrooms posed a challenge to teachers. Most of the teachers who took part in this study stated that "the use of dialect could be an obstruction to learning Standard Greek" (ibid.: 138), whereas only a few of them "explicitly made a case for pupils to develop bilingualism in both Greek and dialect (four out of a total of 22 comments on the topic)" (ibid.). Moreover, "whilst teachers were justifiably focused on developing the

children's competence in Greek, they did not articulate any explicit theorised bilingual language pedagogy in support of their pedagogical choices" (ibid.). The pressures they felt due to the monocultural and monolingual character of the educational system in the Greek-Cypriot community "did not allow them to develop new, flexible and responsive teaching approaches" (ibid.: 138; see also Karyolemou et al., 2011).

The inappropriateness of GAL teaching materials was also reported as posing problems for the teachers. According to the CERE's study (Elia et al., 2009), due to the unsuitable teaching material provided by the MEC, teachers have to look for teaching material from different sources. This is time consuming for them as well as an additional workload. Because of their restricted knowledge of issues related to GAL teaching, they expressed uncertainty about whether they were choosing appropriate teaching material. Along similar lines, Valanidou and Jones (2012: 132) argue that:

"Most, but not all, of the teachers were aware that there were some textbooks provided by the MEC, but they considered them inappropriate for the students' levels (...) Teachers felt that the lack of appropriate resources and direction impeded their job, but their real issue was a perceived lack of guidelines to exploit and adapt the materials for teaching non-native speaker students" (see also Hajisoteriou, 2013).

Another problem reported by existing studies is the fact that the extra periods per week allocated by the MEC to schools for the teaching of GAL are limited in number. Those teachers, who see "[Greek] language proficiency [as] a precursor to greater inclusion", emphasised that "more periods are needed" (Hajisoteriou, 2013: 118; see also Elia et al., 2009).

The abovementioned studies depend on interviews with teachers and the findings are very useful for pointing out in general terms the problems at their level. However, in my view, they lack a close look at the nature of the problems as well as a detailed account of what actually happens in classrooms and of how teachers solve their problems. According to Ball and his colleagues (Bowe et al., 1992), since policy documents are never translated smoothly, but instead pose problems in educational

contexts, an ethnographic insight is needed to show what actually happens and how different actors in different contexts enact them. Following Ball, the aim was to provide more in depth understanding than previous researchers have achieved by using ethnographic tools geared towards an ethnographic perspective. More specifically, through this approach I managed to acquire a detailed insightful account regarding how the MEC's policy text for PIGLLC is received at the level of teachers in the classroom. By collecting and analysing naturally occurring data in terms of classroom observations supported by lesson recordings and fieldnotes, my research outcomes make a novel contribution to the literature. In the data analysis in this chapter, I adopt Bloome and his colleagues (Bloome et al., 2009) approach for analysing classroom interaction and classroom talk between teachers and students from an ethnographic point of view. In line with their approach, I have divided the GAL lessons into phases, which are then subdivided into activities and I show extracts from these activities in order to support my arguments.

In the next sections, I concentrate on three problematic areas that my focal teachers (Mrs A and Mrs B) encountered, as they arose from my ethnographic fieldwork data:

- 1) The problem of how to assist the GAL students in learning SMG grammar (section 5.1);
- 2) The problem of how to deal with the existence of GCD in everyday school and classroom interaction (section 5.2);
- 3) The problem of choosing between monolingual instruction and GAL instruction using home languages (section 5.3).

I provide a close look at the two teachers' classroom practices and how they solved each of the abovementioned problems they faced.

5.1 The problem of how to assist GAL students in learning SMG grammar

One of the problems that the teachers had to confront when enacting the policy for PIGLLC was how to assist their pupils in learning SMG grammar given the lack of clear guidance in the MEC's policy document. They found their own solutions: Mrs

A mainly emphasised traditional grammar teaching, whereas Mrs B mostly focused on communicative language teaching. However, on some occasions Mrs A taught communicative language activities, which she did not sustain and quickly returned to grammar teaching. In the next sections, I describe their solutions separately.

5.1.1 Mrs A's grammar lessons

As pointed out earlier, the CERE's study (Elia et al., 2009) reports that teachers tended to emphasise teaching grammar to older 'non-beginner' students. Valanidou and Jones (2012) add that teachers find it difficult to teach Greek syntax, grammar and orthography. Indeed, the evidence I present in this section shows that Mrs A used grammar teaching with her GAL students. However, her grammar lessons appeared to be problematic and did not seem to promote learning effectively. Before I explain this further, I first provide basic information about Mrs A and the three GAL students in her parallel class.

Mrs A was a primary school mainstream Greek-Cypriot teacher, with eight years of working experience in primary schools at the time of my fieldwork. Her degree was in primary school education and had a master's degree in intercultural education. She had also attended in-service seminars regarding intercultural education organised by the MEC. However, as Mrs A stated during an interview, she had never been trained in GAL teaching. It is useful to say here that Mrs A had a multilingual and multicultural family background: her father was Greek-Cypriot, her mother was Austrian, and her husband was Greek-Cypriot by descent but had been born and raised in the UK (she told me that she communicated with her husband in English). Mrs A spoke Greek, German and English. In the absence of a GAL specialist among the school staff in Inner City, she had been assigned by the head-teacher one teaching period per week in order to organise a parallel class for three GAL pupils. She was one of six teachers who were responsible for parallel classes in the school.

In Mrs A's parallel class there were Samira, Lazaros and Andrei of varying backgrounds and abilities, but as they are three of the focal students in the next chapter, a more detailed description of them is postponed until then. Mrs A considered her parallel class to be a mixed ability class in terms of the students' Greek language proficiency, because two students had spent more than three years in

Cyprus and were able to speak the local variety well, whereas one was a new arrival in the country. When I asked her to describe their Greek language proficiency, she stated:

I want Andrei to learn to speak more... fluently (...) Lazaros was living in Greece before and knows how to speak, but he has a big problem with writing (...) The same {applies} also for Samira, even though she is more fluent in speaking and writing than the others.

(Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

The abovementioned basic information will be useful when analysing her classroom practices in the next section, because it provides the background to her parallel lessons. I am now going to take an in depth look at Mrs A's grammar teaching.

i) Grammar lessons through the use of IRE

Mrs A's parallel lessons were regularly traditional grammar lessons. She seemed to draw from the Grammar-Translation Method⁵² in the sense that:

- i) Mrs A tried to promote GAL learning through "analysis of (...) grammar rules, followed by application of this knowledge" (Richards and Rodgers, 2001: 5);
- ii) she tried to teach grammar in a systematic and organised way through following a syllabus for the sequencing of grammatical items (McKendry, 2011; Nassaji and Fotos, 2011; Richards and Rodgers, 2001); and
- iii) her role and that of her students in the classroom were very traditional, with the teacher being the authority and the students following her instruction in order to learn what she knew (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson, 2011; Richards and Rodgers, 2001).

⁵² Language teachers have used the Grammar-Translation Method for many years, also called the Classical Method. They first employed this method when teaching the classical languages, Ancient Greek and Latin. In the early 20th century, they used it for the aim of studying literature in a foreign language (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson, 2011: 13). As McKendry (2011: 2) explains:

"the Classical or Grammar-Translation method represents the tradition of language teaching adopted in western society and developed over centuries of teaching not only the classical languages, such as Latin and Greek, but also foreign languages".

In some parts of the world today, language teachers continue to use modified forms of the Grammar-Translation method (Richards and Rodgers, 2001: 6). According to Richards and Rodgers:

"Grammar Translation is a way of studying a language that approaches the language first through detailed analysis of its grammar rules, followed by application of this knowledge to the task of translating sentences and texts into and out of the target language. It hence views language learning as consisting of little more than memorising rules and facts in order to understand and manipulate the morphology and syntax of the foreign language" (ibid.: 6).

For most of her lessons she followed the traditional classroom interactional format known as the IRE sequence⁵³ (Initiation-Response-Evaluation, see Mehan, 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). In the excerpts below I provide two examples.

Extract 5.1 comes from a lesson during which Mrs A was teaching the past simple tense. It was carried out on the first session after the Easter holidays, and consisted of the next three stages:

1. A teacher-led discussion on what the students had done during the holidays (6 min approx),⁵⁴
2. The teacher teaching the past simple through IRE patterning (19 min approx);
3. Students writing about how they spent the weekend using the past tense verbs that the teacher had put on the board (12 min approx).

The excerpt below is from the beginning of the second stage of the lesson. In the interaction between Mrs A and the GAL pupils, Mrs A was introducing the past simple tense by giving the pupils the grammatical rule and comparing it with the present continuous. However, this episode of teaching a new grammatical phenomenon ended up as a guessing game.

⁵³ Early studies on classroom discourse revealed a common structure of interaction between the teacher and the pupils: teacher initiation, student response and teacher evaluation. This interactional format is known as the IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation) pattern (Mehan, 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). According to these studies, the IRE is a way of monitoring and guiding the learning of pupils (Mercer, 1992; Chang, 2003; Waring, 2009). As Hall (1998: 291) describes,

“In this particular instructional practice it is the teacher who initiates the exchange and decides upon the topic for discussion (...) He then selects a student in one of three ways to respond. He either looks at the student from whom he wants an answer, calls out a student’s name, or selectively responds to the utterance of one of several students who are actively bidding for the floor. His follow-up is most often an evaluation of the student response, although on occasion he may extend the exchange with a particular student by asking a related question or adding to the student response”.

Whilst Mercer (1992) argues for the effectiveness of the IRE classroom interactional pattern in monitoring and guiding children’s learning, as well as providing educationally valuable experience, several other researchers (Gutierrez, 1994; Ernst, 1994; Johnson, 1995) criticise the frequent use of this discourse pattern by teachers in additional language classrooms. They claim that the IRE sequence as “a teacher-centred, sentence-level meaning, recitation” emphasises students’ grammatical or content accuracy, which can be problematic for additional language pupils because it offers few opportunities for developing communicative skills (Boyd and Maloof, 2000: 164).

⁵⁴ It is worth noting that actually at this first stage the lesson had the characteristics of the CLT (Communicative Language Teaching) approach, which is examined later on.

Extract 5.1: Grammar teaching through using IRE – a guessing game

Class A, 3/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

The utterances that are in Greek-Cypriot dialect are marked in bold letters. English translations are given underneath for both Standard Greek utterances and Greek-Cypriot dialect utterances.

- 1 **Mrs A:** για να μιλήσουμε για κάτι που (.) **εκάμαμεν** και **επέρασε**
to talk about something that (.) **we did** and **it has**
passed
- 2 **Samira:** ναι
yes
- 3 **Mrs A:** **χρησιμοποιούμεν** [διαφορετικά το ρήμα
we use the verb in a different way
- 4 **Samira:** [αόριστος
[past simple
- 5 **Mrs A:** =μπράβο
=bravo
- 6 =από ότι για κάτι που **κάνουμεν** τώρα (.)
=than when {we use the verb to talk} about something
that **we are doing** now
- 7 για κάτι που κάνω τώρα χρησιμοποιώ τον;
for something that I am doing now I use?
- 8 **Samira:** ε... γενικό;
e... genitive?
- 9 **Andrei:** [όι
[no
- 10 **Mrs A:** [εν...;
[pre...?
- 11 **Samira:** εν...ικό
si...ngular
- 12 **Mrs A:** ενεσιτώα!
present tense!
- 13 **Samira:** * ωραία *
* nice *
- 14 **Andrei:** * όι γενικό *
* **not** genitive * ((he is whispering to Samira))

The sequence begins with the teacher's initiation (I) ('to talk about something that we did and it has passed we use the verb in a different way', lines 1 and 3) and is followed by Samira's response (R) ('past simple', line 4). The teacher receives Samira's correct response with 'bravo' in the next line (5). After her feedback (F), the teacher continues in the next line to introduce the next elicitation sequence ('for something that I am doing now I use?', line 7). Samira produces an incorrect term 'e... genitive' in line 8. Mrs A's 'pre...?' in line 10 intends to induce students to produce the term 'present continuous'. Samira offers another incorrect term 'singular' in line 11. After that, in line 12, the teacher goes on to provide the correct answer 'present tense' with increasing volume.

Looking at the above excerpt, it can be seen that Samira provided all the responses to the IRE sequence, but most times these were incorrect. Although initially in line 4 Samira gives the right term 'past simple', later in lines 8 and 11 she shouts out grammatical terms that are completely wrong. Andrei, on the other hand, does not

provide an answer to the teacher's questions and instead, responds to Samira by criticising her for her wrong answers. In line 9 he says 'no' and later in line 14 'not genitive'. He seems to know that genitive is not the right term but at the same time we cannot adduce that he knows what the right term is since he does not offer it. (Throughout my classroom data Andrei had an antagonistic behaviour towards Samira, which will be explained in chapter 7.) Finally, Lazaros stays silent for the whole of the episode.

A comparable example (extract 5.2) took place in the same lesson a few minutes later. After introducing the past simple by giving the pupils the grammatical rule, Mrs A then provides an example to the students:

Extract 5.2: Grammar teaching through using IRE – a guessing game

Class A, 3/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs A:** ο αόριστος (.) έγινε πριν (.) έκανα μια φορά και
ετέλειωσε (.)
past simple (.) it happened before (.) I did once and **it finished** (.)
- 2 **εντάξει...** για παράδειγμα (.) είπες μου...
ok... for example (.) you said to me...
- 3 **Samira:** για το πάρκο (3) **επήα** στο πάρκο
for the park (3) **I went** to the park
- 4 **Mrs A:** πήγα [στο πάρκο]
I went to the park
- 5 **Samira:** [στο πάρκο]
[to the park]
- 6 **Mrs A:** **επήα** μια φορά
I went once
- 7 **Samira:** και **ετέ[λειωσε]**
and **it finished**
- 8 **Andrei:** [εγώ πήγα [πολλές φορές]
[I went a lot of times]
- 9 **Mrs A:** [**ντάξει...** τώρα (.) τι **κάνω**;
[**ok...** now (.) what **am I doing**?
- 10 **Samira:** **όι** (.) **τζι** εγώ ήμουν το Πάσχα
no (.) I was **also** {at the park} during the Easter {holidays}
- 11 **Mrs A:** αν θα μιλήσω για το τώρα;
if I will talk for now?
- 12 **Samira:** εμ...
em...
- 13 **Mrs A:** [τώρα τι **κάνω** στο (.) στο πάρκο;
[now what **am I doing** at (.) at the park]
- 14 **Andrei:** [διαβάζεις]
[you are reading]
- 15 **Samira:** τώρα διαβάζω
now I am reading
- 16 **Mrs A:** τι **κάνω**;
what **am I doing**?
- 17 **Samira:** περπατώ (2) **όι** παίζω
I am walking (2) **no** I am playing
- 18 **Andrei:** παίζω

- I am playing
- 19 **Lazaros:** τρέχω
I am running
- 20 **Mrs A:** μου είπες πήγα στο πάρκο (2) πήγα (2) τώρα τι κάνω;
you said to me I went to the park (2) I went (2) now
what am I doing?
- 21 **Samira:** παίζω
I am playing
- 22 **Mrs A:** πηγαίνω
I am going

This excerpt begins with the teacher, who articulates the grammar rule in line 1 and then provides an example for the students in line 2. Samira, in the next line, provides the phrase ‘I went to the park’ which arose earlier on in the lesson when the teacher was asking the students about their Easter holidays (this communicative practice is explained in the next section). The teacher takes up her phrase. She says it again in line 4 and further expands upon its meaning in line 6. In line 7 Samira adds a sequence that expands the content of the teacher’s previous utterance by referring back to the grammar rule that the teacher articulated. In line 8 Andrei says ‘I went a lot of times {to the park during the Easter holidays}’. This is part of an ongoing behaviour where he feels he has to criticise Samira for her answers, which will be explained in chapter 7.

In lines 9, 11 and 13, an IRE sequence is initiated by the teacher, who requests pupils to change the tense of the verb ‘I went’ to ‘I am going’. Here, the teacher appears to be trying to elicit a particular answer she has in her mind, that is, the present continuous tense of the verb to go: ‘I am going’. At the same time, she is also performing some kind of physical action to demonstrate this verb. At this point the three pupils begin shouting out present continuous tense verbs (lines 14-21), but do not provide the answer required by the teacher (that is ‘I am going’). In line 14, Andrei offers an incorrect response (‘you are reading’). Samira takes up Andrei’s response and changes the subject of the verb (‘now, I am reading’, line 15). These responses by the children to Mrs A’s question perhaps appear in this way because when the teacher asks the students to tell her the present continuous tense verb ‘I am going’ and does the physical action to demonstrate this verb, in lines 9, 11 and 13, she is also holding some papers. In the next line, the teacher repeats her previous question (‘What am I doing?’, line 16). Samira offers another incorrect answer in line 17. Andrei takes up Samira’s response and says it again in line 18. In line 19, Lazaros responds to the IRE sequence for the first time since the beginning of the

grammar teaching. However, this is again an incorrect answer. In line 22, the teacher provides the correct answer 'I am going' with increased volume.

In this extract it seems that the students understand the grammatical point, for this is evident in lines 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 21, where they offer present continuous tense verbs ('you are reading', 'I am reading', 'I am walking', 'I am playing', 'I am running'). However, Mrs A does not accept any of these as the right answer. She aims at trying to elicit the phrase 'I am going to the park' by getting them to see the physical action she is undertaking, which does not work in this case. In the end she has to offer the answer she has in mind.

As clarified earlier, in interviews with teachers carried out by other researchers (Valanidou and Jones, 2012), the former stated that they faced difficulties when trying to teach Greek grammar to GAL pupils. My thesis adds to this body of research by adopting a different approach that involves considering the difficulties teachers have in teaching GAL whilst they are in the classroom. I have shown, so far, that indeed Mrs A faced difficulties when teaching SMG grammar and I have explained what these were. The above excerpts are concerned with grammar teaching through the use of IRE and in both incidences this ended up as a guessing game. The GAL students were restricted to the role of answering Mrs A's questions and guessing her preferred answers. She did not provide them with the opportunity to produce meaningful language or elaborate on their mistakes in order to build new knowledge. This kind of GAL teaching appears problematic and does not seem effectively to promote learning, but rather ends up as a form of guessing game.

These findings are in line with a number of researchers' criticisms about the IRE pattern. Whilst Mercer (1992: 218-219) accepts the effectiveness of the IRE classroom interactional pattern in "monitoring children's knowledge and understanding", "guiding their learning", as well as "marking knowledge and experience which is considered educationally significant or valuable", several other researchers criticise teachers' frequent use of this format. According to these criticisms, the IRE keeps teachers in control of the flow of classroom dialogue, thus failing to provide pupils with opportunities to ask their own questions (Chang, 2003; Sawyer, 2004; Wells, 1993; Wood, 1992). Furthermore, other criticisms of the IRE highlight that it is typical of classroom communication between teachers and students

in a traditional way, and hardly ever takes place in natural or genuine interaction (Seedhouse, 1996). The classroom discourse is monologic because the teacher never asks authentic questions or follows up pupils' responses (Chang, 2003). In the same vein, with the presence of the IRE pattern in the classroom interaction it is widely regarded that little genuine communication is taking place in the lesson (Dinsmore, 1985; Nunan, 1987; Seedhouse, 1996). Another important criticism is that IRE can define and transform the lesson into a guessing game, as found in my research. Baker and Freebody (1989) argue that this cycle of classroom interaction restricts pupils to the role of answering the teacher's questions and guessing her preferred answers; he/she is seeking one specific answer from all possible ones (Chang, 2003). This means that the teacher does not encourage students to construct their own meanings, but rather provides his/her own (Comber, 2010; Mercer and Dawes, 2008; Pimm, 1994).

Moreover, Mrs A's grammar teaching was decontextualised without any notion of how the grammatical phenomenon functions in oral and written speech. She did undertake some kind of physical action to demonstrate the tenses, but it was really difficult for the children to understand what she had in her head. The goal of the lesson was to teach the past simple tense, but at the same time it covered the present continuous. Mrs A first presented to the students the grammatical rule, then encouraged them to practise it by changing the tense of given verbs from the present to the past tense and vice versa, finally asking them to write a short text about how they spent the weekend in order to use the past tense. Mrs A followed similar lesson stages when teaching the present (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 29/3/2011) and future tenses (recorded lesson, 3/5/2011) as well as other language items such as nouns and articles (fieldnotes, observed lessons, 15/3/2011, 21/3/2011). In English language teaching, this kind of methodological procedure is known as the Presentation-Practice-Production or PPP approach (Ellis, 2003: 29). According to Ellis:

“[in the PPP approach] a language item is first presented to the learners by means of examples with or without an explanation. This item is then practiced in a controlled manner using (...) ‘exercises’. Finally opportunities for using the item in free language production are provided” (ibid.).

A similar method of teaching and learning grammar can also be found in other approaches. For instance, in the deductive approach to grammar the teacher first introduces the grammatical rule and then encourages pupils to apply it to examples (see Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Richards and Rodgers, 2001). Both the PPP method and the deductive approach seem to be based on the same belief that learners will learn how to communicate in an additional language only if they first learn its vocabulary and forms. In the 1990s, the PPP approach was criticised because it does not acknowledge the complex nature of language learning and also because it is teacher-centred. Moreover, learners who are able to apply a grammatical rule to examples in the lesson are many times not able to apply the same rule in ‘real life’ communications (see van Lier, 2004; Willis, 1996). I have provided so far insight into how Mrs A went about trying to teach points of grammar, which have revealed weaknesses that clearly other researchers have identified as being problematic with this approach. I now want to give some further examples of why she maybe was having difficulties with her lesson delivery.

The lesson I dealt with in this section was on the past tense, whereas the previous lesson had been on the present tense and the one after that on the future. It seems that the teacher tried to teach grammar in a systematic and organised way through following a syllabus for the sequencing of grammatical items (McKendry, 2011; Nassaji and Fotos, 2011; Richards and Rodgers, 2001). This is founded on the assumption that “there is a fairly stable order of acquisition of structures in language acquisition” (Krashen, 1981: 1). As Krashen claims, there are clear similarities among additional language learners as to which structures they tend to learn early and which they learn late (*ibid.*). Along similar lines, Moschonas (2006) asserts that GAL students tend to learn early the present tense, the imperfect tense and the active voice, whereas the past tense, the future tense and the passive voice of the Greek language are acquired later. Such theories (Krashen, 1981; Moschonas, 2006) see language as a “fixed object to be acquired rather than as a semiotic system full of variations and struggles” (Pennycook, 2001: 143). They also perceive the learner as a generalised subject isolated from society and conceive the process of language learning as something taking place inside the head of the individual learner, thus neglecting other aspects, such as the individual learner attributes and the learning environment (see Hawkins, 2004; Firth and Wagner, 1997; Lantolf and Johnson, 2007; Leontiev, 1981). Furthermore, they overlook the interaction that takes place in

non-instructional settings, only paying attention to the formal learning environment, such as the classroom (Firth and Wagner, 1997). As Hawkins (2004: 15) emphasises, within this perception of language as well as language learning:

“to ‘teach’ a language is to be able to rank grammatical or functional components of language in terms of ease of acquisition and to design activities that allow the learner practice in the discrete form/function that is the focus of the lesson, and to ‘learn’ a language is to come to have the characteristics and to utilize the strategies that ‘good language learners’ have. Language learning is defined as the mental processes by which learners come to organize and use features of the new language”.

I have given so far a detailed sense of what happened when Mrs A tried to teach points of grammar to her GAL students. I have provided evidence that her grammar lessons appeared to be problematic and did not seem to promote learning effectively. I have referred to authors in other places who have written about the exact teaching technique Mrs A used and the problems connected with it. However, Mrs A did not only use grammar teaching, for she also engaged the pupils, to some extent, in communicative language activities, as the next subsection shows.

ii) Communicative language activities

In previous research (Elia et al., 2009) cited earlier, teachers stated at interview that they engaged in speaking activities with beginner students, but I could not find any reference in extant studies to teachers trying to solve their problems using communicative language teaching. As described earlier, Mrs A’s parallel lessons were regularly grammar lessons. On some occasions during these she performed communicative language activities (in total 4 times), but they were still related to grammar teaching. Nevertheless, these activities were not sustained and the teacher quickly went back into the grammar teaching mode. On these few occasions, the GAL students appeared to engage in the activity and use language for meaning and understanding.

In the following excerpt I offer one such example. As with the extracts in the previous subsections, extract 5.3 derives from the lesson during which Mrs A was teaching the past simple. The extract below derives from the first few minutes of the

lesson, which occurred in the first session after the Easter holidays. The following interaction starts with Mrs A's question about what Samira did during the holidays, but ends up as a discussion in which all the students are engaged.

Extract 5.3: Communicative language teaching

Class A, 3/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs A:** ε... πριν να ξεκινήσουμε (.) πώς **επεράσατε τις** διακοπές σας; (.)
e... before we start (.) how **did you spend** your {Easter} holidays? (.)
- 2 πες μου Σαμίρα
tell me Samira
- 3 **Samira:** χάλια
terrible
- 4 **Mrs A:** γιατί;
why?
- 5 **Samira:** πρώτα έπιασε φωτιά το αυτοκίνητο της μάμα⁵⁵ [μου... (.)
first my mother's car caught fire (.)
- 6 **Andrei:** [oh my god
- 7 **Samira:** και μετά τίποτε **εν ε[κάμαμε** (.)
and after **we didn't do** anything (.)
- 8 **Andrei:** [((sound of surprise))
- 9 **Samira:** ήρθα στο δωμάτιό μου [(.) στο σπίτι [(.) ()-
I came to my room [(.) at home [(.) ()-
- 10 **Andrei:** [oh no (.) [not good
- 11 **Mrs A:** πώς έπιασε φωτιά το αυτοκίνητο της μάμας;
how did your mother's car catch fire?
- 12 **Samira:** **εν ηξέρω** (.) ήταν στη δουλειά **τζι έπιασε**
I don't know (.) she was at work **and caught**
- 13 **Lazaros:** τούτη ήξερε κυρία αλλά... (2) **εν** το είπε στη μάμα της
she knew miss but... (2) she **didn't** say it to her mother
- 14 **Samira:** τι ήξερα;
what did I know?
- 15 **Lazaros:** ήξερες ότι ήταν χαλασμένο το αυτοκίνητο
you knew that the car was broken
- 16 **Andrei:** [ναι
[yes
- 17 **Samira:** **όι** (.) **τζείνος που** (.) από **τζείνον που** αγόρασε ήξερα ότι
ήταν χαλασμένο
no (.) **the person who** (.) from **the person who** she bought
I knew that it was broken
- 18 **τζι έδωκέν το** στη μάμα μου
and he gave it to my mother
- 19 **Mrs A:** μ...
m...
- 20 **Samira:** αλλά... **εν** της το είπα (.) **τζι αγόρασεν το**
but... I **didn't** say it to her (.) **and she bought it**
- 21 ήταν διακόσιες⁵⁶ χιλιάδες ευρώ
it was two hundred thousand euro
- 22 **Andrei:** μόνο;
only?
- 23 **Mrs A:** [**όι** διακόσιες χιλιάδες
[**not** two hundred thousand
- 24 **Samira:** [**αλλά ένεν** (.)

⁵⁵ In Greek this word should be 'mamas' ([μάμας] mother's) but Samira said it without the last letter 's'.

⁵⁶ In Greek this word should be 'diakosies' ([διακόσιες] two hundred) but Samira said it without the last letter 's'.

- [but it's not (.)]
- 25 **Andrei:** [()]
- 26 **Samira:** κυρία θέλει τζιαι πουπάνω τα λεφτά του
miss on top of this he wants also his money back
- 27 **Mrs A:** M
m

The extract above comes from a communicative language activity⁵⁷, which occurred at the beginning of a grammar lesson about teaching the past simple and operated as an introductory activity. Its aim was the use of past tense verbs by the GAL students. Mrs A found a topic of conversation that related to the pupils (what they did during the Easter holidays) and encouraged them to talk in order to use the past tense. This is in accordance with the characteristics of communicative language teaching (CLT):

“[Classroom activities] engage learners in the pragmatic, authentic, functional use of language for meaningful purposes (...) [the teacher acts as] a facilitator and guide (...) students are therefore encouraged to construct meaning through genuine linguistic interaction with others” (Brown, 2001: 43).

Of particular interest is the GAL pupils' response to this communicative language activity. In this extract a discussion was initiated among the pupils, in which they produced short and long utterances, built on each other's talk, expressed feelings, agreements and disagreements. Samira narrated her story about the fire in her mother's car. Andrei reacted to her narration with surprise and did not criticise her like he did in the grammar episodes analysed in the previous section. Lazaros commented on her story with long utterances and did not remain silent as he usually did during the lessons. Therefore, it could be argued that the students engaged in the activity and used language for meaning and understanding. They in fact used the target speech aspect, namely, the past tense. The interaction between them took place in a hybrid of SMG and GCD, whereas Andrei also used English.

It could be concluded that Mrs A's CLT was more effective than when she attempted grammar teaching through using IRE as the latter appeared to end up as a guessing game. However, she did not sustain the communicative language activity, which only lasted approximately six minutes, and quickly proceeded with the grammar teaching about the past tense. Consequently, she did not appear to grasp the use of the past

⁵⁷ The whole of this activity can be found transcribed in Greek in appendix 6 (page 315).

tense in this authentic interaction as an opportunity to teach grammar and as a bridge to learning the function of the grammar rule. It may be that there is some value in encouraging CLT as a way for teachers to achieve their GAL goals, as Karyolemou and colleagues (Karyolemou et al., 2011) have also suggested. Next I analyse Mrs B's classroom practices.

5.1.2 Mrs B's communicative language lessons

In this section, I focus on Mrs B's parallel lessons and the solution she employed to the problem posed by the MEC's policy document for PIGLLC regarding how to help the GAL students learn SMG grammar. It turns out, as is shown, that unlike Mrs A, Mrs B used CLT extensively in her lesson delivery. However, I first provide basic information about Mrs B and the seven GAL students in her two parallel classes.

Mrs B was an experienced primary school mainstream Greek-Cypriot teacher, who had 18 years of working experience in primary schools at the time of my fieldwork. Her degree was in primary school education and was also nearing the completion of a master's degree in educational administration. She spoke Greek and English. She attended in-service seminars regarding intercultural education organised by the Greek-Cypriot MEC. However, as Mrs B stated in the interview, she had never been trained in GAL teaching.

I haven't had training for teaching Greek [GAL]. I only had in intercultural education. I attended some courses about intercultural education at the Pedagogical Institute. I think it was in 2004. But it had nothing to do with teaching Greek [GAL]. It didn't help me for the teaching of Greek. It was more about the accession of other-language students in mainstream classes, about how to organise Greek lessons or Math lessons in your mainstream class with mixed ability children plus other-language students. (...) I have never worked as a teacher in parallel classes in the past. It just happened to me once to be the [mainstream] class teacher and have one other-language student in my class.

(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

The Outer City Primary School organised two parallel classes with the extra teaching hours per week allocated by the MEC: one group for three GAL students attending grade 1 of primary education (6-7 year-olds), and one group for four older GAL pupils attending grades 5 and 6 of primary education (10-12 year-old). Each class met for two 40-minute teaching periods every week. In the absence of a GAL

specialist among the school staff, Mrs B was assigned by the head-teacher to teach both of the parallel classes. As she said to me, she considered this to be a big responsibility that she accepted with great pleasure:

The culture concerning the other-language students that the new head-teacher of the school wanted was... to have one teacher who would be responsible to organise the parallel classes for teaching Greek more systematically. E... I was being asked if I would bother to take on such a responsibility, because I consider this as a big responsibility. E... and I accepted with great pleasure. E... it was a challenge for me and I believe I won.

(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

During my first visits at Mrs B's parallel classes, she seemed to be concerned that I would judge her teaching and delivery. She often asked me if I would suggest some ways to improve her lessons (fieldnotes, staff room, 18/2/2011). After I had informed her that I admired her teaching and as a newly qualified teacher with limited practical experience was hoping to learn from her, she became more relaxed with my presence in the classroom.

I felt anxious but only in the beginning. In the beginning when I didn't know. I felt insecure because I didn't know the person who was going to observe my lessons. Then we gained confidence. You assured me that there are the ethical issues. E... I felt more secure because there is confidentiality. My students got used to you observing the lessons. I got used to you observing my lessons.

(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

It is noteworthy here that Mrs B felt responsible not only for teaching Greek to her GAL students, but also for supporting them emotionally as well as helping them to understand and participate in school life. As she said to me in an informal conversation, she encouraged the children to discuss with her their worries or problems. In addition, Mrs B spent time observing pupils' behaviour during the school breaks as well as talking with their subject teachers about their behaviour in their mainstream classes.

Mrs B's two parallel classes were different with regard to the GAL pupils' age and also their Greek language proficiency. The teacher characterised class B as her intermediate class. In this class, there were three 7 year-old children in their first grade of primary education. Although these children were younger than the students

in class C, they were considered by Mrs B to be ‘the intermediate kids’, because they had been more than three years in the country, had attended pre-primary school in Cyprus and were able to speak the local dialect well. On the other hand, in class C, there were four 10-12 year-old children in their fifth and sixth (final) grades of primary education. The teacher considered this class to be her beginners class, and as a matter of fact, the pupils had spent less time in Cyprus and thus were weaker in Greek.

With regards to the GAL students, Vladimir, Manolis and Nina were attending class B. Vladimir, a boy of Bulgarian descent, came to Cyprus with his mother when he was 4 years old and he did not have schooling in his home language. Manolis, a boy of Greek-Pontian descent, came to Cyprus with his family when he was 3 years old and as with Vladimir, he did not have schooling in his home language (Georgian). Nina was a Greek-Cypriot girl and she also like Samira, Lazaros and Andrei is one of the focal students in chapter 6. Further description of her characteristics and background is not provided until then.

Marko, Ivan, Florentin and Marius were attending class C. Marko, a boy of Bulgarian descent, had come to Cyprus with his family when he was 10 years old and had enrolled in grade 4 of primary education. During my research, he was attending grade 6 of primary education. Marko had had schooling in Bulgarian. Regarding Greek, he faced many difficulties with everyday spoken GCD as well as with reading and writing SMG. The school staff were of the opinion that Marko had learning difficulties because his school performance appeared to be extremely weak. They also argued that he was sometimes being excluded by his GAL and mainstream peers because of his character as well as his impulsive and aggressive reactions. Ivan, Florentin and Marius were boys of Romanian descent. Ivan had come to Cyprus with his family when he was 11 years old and had enrolled in grade 5 of primary education. He was attending grade 6 at the time of my fieldwork. He had had schooling in Romanian and was relatively fluent in GCD but was struggling with SMG. Florentin was a new arrival to Cyprus, who had travelled with his family in November 2010 (3 months before my research). He was in grade 6 of primary education during my fieldwork. He had very limited Greek proficiency, but he had had schooling in Romanian and spoke English fluently. Marius was also a new arrival, who had come with his family in May 2010 (namely 9 months before I

carried out my fieldwork). During my research, he was attending grade 5 of primary education. Marius had had schooling in Romanian. He was relatively fluent in everyday GCD and SMG. The head-teacher and Mrs B reported in interviews and discussions with me that he had made good progress in his Greek proficiency and in his academic achievement in his mainstream class. In fact, he was able to participate in the lessons in his mainstream class like the rest of the students. He also acted as an interpreter at the end of my fieldwork for Lilian, a new arrival student of Romanian descent, translating and talking to her in their shared home language. It was with these pupils that Mrs B employed CLT techniques. I am now going to analyse how she did this and what the responses from the children were.

i) Communicative language lessons

Mrs B's parallel lessons were regularly communicative language lessons. She put emphasis on understanding the meaning of different texts and developing ideas about different topics. She simultaneously concentrated on grammar points.

I put speaking as my initial aim e... especially for the older students {in class B}. That is, one part of the lesson is dedicated to speaking and to communication e... according to specific grammar and vocabulary.
(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

Mrs B gave opportunities to the students to engage in communicative language activities, interact with each other and produce meaningful language. She encouraged them actively to participate in discussions in which her role was that of being a facilitator and guide. Moreover, she tried to help them to learn Greek whilst these communicating sessions were in progress.

Mrs B followed the IRE pattern for most of the communicative lessons. However, in contrast to Mrs A, she used it in a more relaxed way by articulating more open initiations and with evaluations that expanded upon pupils' responses (Chang, 2003). In what follows, I provide two examples of Mrs B's communicative teaching through the use of IRE as an interactional pattern in her parallel classes. The first is when she used a picture. The CERE's study (Elia et al., 2009) actually refers to some teachers who stated in the interviews that they found it useful to use pictures as a teaching tool. The second is when Mrs B made use of the children's own experience.

Extract 5.4 comes from a lesson during which Mrs B was teaching the names of the colours and the consonant ligatures occurring within these words. The lesson consisted of the next four stages:

1. A teacher-led discussion about the picture accompanying a multimodal text (14 min approx);
2. The students listen to the teacher reading the text and then they take turns in reading it (3 min approx);
3. The teacher poses text-based comprehension questions (8 min approx);
4. Pupils work individually on a worksheet with exercises (i.e. colouring in pictures using the correct colour and copying in the lower case a phrase written in capitals) (10 min approx).

The following episode concerned with communicative teaching through IRE is from the start of the lesson. In the interaction in this excerpt, the teacher successfully engages the GAL pupils in a whole class discussion about a picture (see image 5.1 below). Although she initially tries to encourage the children to discuss about colours by drawing their attention to the girl's necklace in the picture, the students concentrate on the girl's doll. Mrs B accepts this change and also encourages all of them to get involved in the discussion. The teacher and the students have the picture in front of them the whole time.

Extract 5.4: Communicative language teaching through using IRE – a meaningful interaction

Class B, 4/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs B:** σήμερα (.) σας έφερα ένα ωραίο (.) κειμενάκι (.)
today (.) I brought you a nice (.) text (.)
- 2 επειδή μάθατε να διαβάζετε
because you've learnt to read
(...)
- 3 κοιτάξετε εδώ
look here ((Mrs B is showing to the students a picture in a textbook))
- 4 **Vladimir:** ου... (.) μάνα μου
oh... (.) my god
- 5 **Mrs B:** ξέρετε τι φορεί **τούτον** το κορίτσι εδώ;
do you know what **this** girl here is wearing?
- 6 **Nina:** ναι
yes
- 7 **Vladimir:** μια κούκλα **έτσι** (.) λυπημένη κούκλα
she has a doll (.) a sad doll
- 8 **Mrs B:** ναι...; (.) [Νίνα;
yes...? (.) [Nina?
- 9 **Nina:** [ε... (.) ε...
[e... (.) e...

10 **Vladimir:** *τζιαι* κάποια *έσιει* μια κούκλα
and someone has a doll

11 **Nina:** *έσιει...* μια κούκλα
she has... a doll

12 **Mrs B:** ποιος;
who?

13 **Nina:** το κοριτσάκι
the girl

14 **Mrs B:** μ...
m...

15 **Vladimir:** *θκιο* κούκλες
two dolls

16 **Mrs B:** Μανώλη;
Manoli?

17 **Manolis:** ε... (.) η... τούτη που φορά η μπλε (.)
e... (.) the... this girl who is wearing blue (.)

18 *ένει τζιαι* τούτη λυπημένη όπως τη...ν (.) κούκλα
is also sad like the... (.) doll

19 **Mrs B:** σου φαίνεται λυπημένη; γιατί να είναι λυπημένη;
do you think she is sad? why is she sad?

20 **Manolis:** επειδή *κάνει* [έτσι
because *she does* this ((he is doing a sad grimace))

21 **Vladimir:** [η κυρία λυπημένη
[the sad lady]

22 **Mrs B:** Βλαντίμιρ (.) γιατί νομίζεις είναι λυπημένη;
Vladimir (.) why do you think she is sad?

23 **Manolis:** επειδή *κάνει* [έτσι
because *she does* this ((he is doing a sad grimace))

24 **Mrs B:** από το πρόσωπο από το σχέδιο κατάλαβες; (.) Βλαντίμιρ;
did you realised from the face in the picture? (.)
Vladimir?

25 **Vladimir:** κυρία *έσιει* (.) *τζιαι* μια... έτσι χαμογελαστή κούκλα (.)
miss *there is* (.) *also* a... smiley doll (.)

26 *τζιαι* μια χαμογελαστή (.) η κυρία χαμογελαστή (.)
and one smiley {lady} (.) the smiley lady (.)

27 *τζιαι* ο... *τζιαι*... η (.) κυρία λυπημένη
and the... and... the (.) sad lady

28 **Mrs B:** άρα εσάς σας φαίνεται λυπημένο το κοριτσάκι (.)
so you think the girl is sad (.)

29 και αυτό σας φαίνεται χαρούμενο (.)
and this {girl} appears to you happy (.)

30 συμφωνείς ή διαφωνείς;
do you agree or disagree? ((she is talking to Nina))

31 **Nina:** ε... (5)
e... (5)

32 **Mrs B:** τι λες;
what do you think? ((she is talking to Nina))

33 **Nina:** διαφωνώ
I disagree

34 **Mrs B:** μ... γιατί; (.) τι νομίζεις;
m... why? (.) what do you think?

35 **Nina:** ότι *ένει* χαρούμενο
that *she is* happy

Image 5.1: Text entitled ‘A necklace full of colours’ from the book ‘I learn to read’ (Μαθαίνω να διαβάζω)

The consonant ligatures occurring within the names of the colours are written with big blue and black letters on the margins of the text. The colour words occur within the text.



The excerpt above begins with the teacher, who introduces the text to the students by first drawing their attention to the picture ('Today, I brought you a nice text because you've learnt to read. Look here {at the picture of the text}.', lines 1-3), and then she goes on to articulate an initiation about the girl's necklace in the picture ('Do you know what this girl {in the picture} is wearing?', line 5). However, the pupils' responses concentrate on the girl's doll. In line 7, Vladimir says 'She has a doll, a sad doll.' and in line 10, he says 'And someone has a doll.' In line 11, Nina says 'She has... a doll.' In the next line (12), Mrs B expands upon the pupils' responses by articulating the question 'Who {has a doll}?' and in line 13 Nina replies 'the girl'. In line 15, Vladimir goes 'two dolls' referring to the second girl in the picture who also holds a doll. Mrs B, in the next line (16), encourages Manolis to talk because he has not said anything since the beginning of the lesson. After this, Manolis articulates a long utterance: 'E... the... this girl who is wearing blue is also sad like the... doll.' (lines 17-18). In the next line (19), Mrs B builds on his words and encourages him to elaborate by asking 'Do you think she is sad? Why is she sad?'. She accepts their ideas and builds on them. Manolis responds by saying 'Because she does this' (line 20) and he does a sad grimace. He is communicating in many ways and not just verbally. In line 21, Vladimir says '{there is} a sad lady' and in line 22, Mrs B asks him why he thinks the girl in the picture is sad ('Vladimir, why do you think she is sad?') and thus encourages him to elaborate, but Vladimir does not reply. Instead, Manolis responds by saying 'Because she does this' (line 23) and he makes a sad grimace again. In line 24, Mrs B asks Vladimir again why he thinks the girl in the picture is sad ('Did you realise from the face in the picture, Vladimir?'). In lines 25-27, Vladimir articulates a long utterance: 'Miss, there is also a... smiley doll and one smiley {lady}, the smiley lady. And the... and... the sad lady'. In lines 28-29, Mrs B recapitulates by saying 'So you think the girl is sad and this {girl} appears to you happy'. In lines 30 and 32, Mrs B continues to encourage Nina to talk ('Do you agree or disagree? What do you think?'). In line 33, Nina says 'I disagree'. Mrs B, in the next line (34), asks her to further elaborate ('Why? What do you think?') and Nina replies '{I think} that she is happy.' (line 35).

Looking at the above excerpt, it can be seen that Mrs B engaged the GAL students in a discussion about the picture of a text by encouraging them to expand upon their responses. The children willingly joined in, offering interpretations in lively talk that allowed for their participation in Greek language meaning and understanding.

A comparable example (extract 5.5) took place in another lesson during which Mrs B was teaching food vocabulary. The lesson consisted of the next five stages:

1. A teacher-led discussion about the content of a nutrition lecture that took place in the school (4 min approx);
2. A teacher-led discussion about a food pyramid picture (see image 5.2) (2 min approx);
3. The students listen to the teacher reading the poem on a worksheet (see image 5.3) and then they read it all together (3 min approx);
4. The teacher poses comprehension questions about the text and the food pyramid picture (12 min approx);
5. The pupils work individually on an exercise in which they have to identify food words in the poem and write them either in the healthy diet column or unhealthy one (see image 5.3) (14 min approx).

The following excerpt, which is concerned with communicative teaching through IRE, derives from the start of the lesson. In the interaction in the excerpt below, the teacher successfully engages the GAL pupils in a whole class discussion about the topic of a healthy diet. She encourages all of them to reflect on a lecture by a nutritionist that took place in the school, build on their experiences, get involved in the discussion and develop ideas about the topic.

Image 5.2: Worksheet entitled 'We eat healthily' created by Mrs B

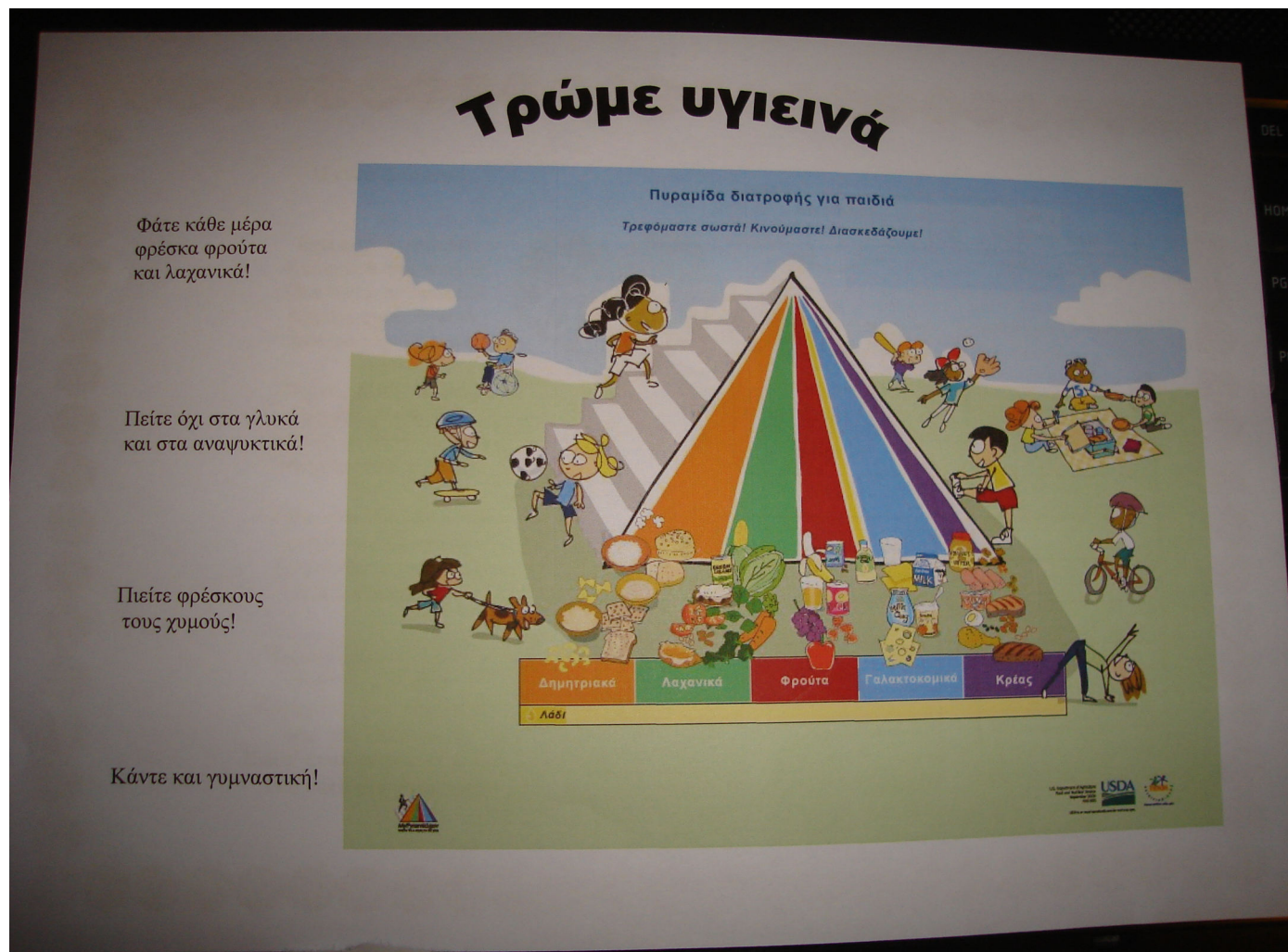


Image 5.3: Worksheet entitled 'Mrs healthy diet' created by Mrs B

Η κυρα-Διατροφή

Έχει κάτι να σου πει:
Καλημέρα σας, παιδιά!
Ωρα τώρα για δουλειά!
Πήρατε όμως πρωινό;
Κάνει το μυαλό γερό.

Όποιος τρώει το πρωί,
έχει δύναμη πολλή,
Αριστα και δέκα παίρνει,
πάντοτε του προοδεύει.

Γάλα, φρούτα, φρυγανιά
τρώτε το πρωί, παιδιά..
Κρουασάν και παγωτό,
Μέλι τρώτε και χυμό.

Πατατάκι και γαριδάκι;
Φάε ένα μηλαράκι.
Καραμέλες και τσιχλίτσες;
Φάε δύο σαλατίτσες.
Και τ' αναψυκτικά τι τα θες
Πιο καλά ένα γάλα πίες!



καπ'ήρα,
φρυγανια

Δεν κάνουν
καλό στην υγεία

Κάνουν
καλό στην υγεία

Πατατάκια
γαριδάκι
παγωτό
κρουασάν
αναψυκτικά

γάλα
φρυγανιά

Extract 5.5: Communicative language teaching through using IRE – a meaningful interaction

Class B, 6/4/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs B:** θα σας δώσω ένα ωραίο φυλλάδιο αλλά πριν...ν (.)
I am going to give you a nice worksheet but before...(.)
- 2 θέλω να μου πείτε
I want you to tell me
- 3 =χτες...ς... έμαθα ότι... (.)
=yesterday... I've learnt that... (.)
- 4 ήρθε και σας μίλησε... [ο κύριος ((όνομα))
mister ((nutritionist's name)) came {at the school} and
talked to you... (.)
- 5 **Vladimir:** [ξέρω
[I know
(...)
- 6 **Mrs B:** τι σας είπε ο κύριος ((όνομα)) (.) Βλαντίμιρ;
what did mister ((nutritionist's name)) tell you (.)
Vladimir?
- 7 **Vladimir:** ε είπε (.) **είπεν** αν... αν τρώμε καλά (.)
e he said (.) **he said** if... if we eat well (.)
- 8 **να γίνουμεν** ω ωραία αγό- (.) ε αγοράκια **τζιαι** κοριτσάκια
we will become n nice bo- (.) e boys **and** girls ((he is
laughing))
- 9 **Mrs B:** α... (.) δηλαδή τούτον το να τρώτε καλά
a... (.) his words 'to eat well'
- 10 **Vladimir:** ξέρω κυρία
I know miss
- 11 **Mrs B:** τι εννοεί; να τρώτε πολύ φαγητό; (.) [τι εννοεί;
what does he mean? to eat a lot of food? (.) what does
he mean?
- 12 **Vladimir:** [ναι
[yes
- 13 **Manolis:** ό...ι... (.) να να... κοιμόμαστε νωρίς
no... (.) to to... sleep early
- 14 =να τρώμε καλά για να (.) μη...ν (.) για να μη...ν (.)
=to eat well so (.) we don't... (.) so we don't (.)
- 15 κοιμόμαστε αργά **τζιαι** ν' αργούμε στο σχολείο
sleep late **and** be late at school
- 16 **Mrs B:** μ...
m...
- 17 **Vladimir:** κυρία αφού εγώ-
miss I-
- 18 **Mrs B:** τι άλλο σας είπε (.) εκτός από το να κοιμάστε νωρίς; (.)
what else did he tell you (.) except for sleeping
early?(.)
- 19 Νίνα (2) τι φαγητά σας είπε ότι πρέπει να τρώτε (.)
Nina (2) what food did he say you should eat (.)
- 20 για να **είσαστε** [όμορφα αγόρια και [όμορφα κορίτσια;
in order to **be** beautiful boys and beautiful girls?
- 21 **Vladimir:** [να σου πω κυρία;
[can I tell you miss?
- 22 **Nina:** [φρούτα και...
[fruits and...
- 23 **Mrs B:** με τη σειρά
don't talk all together
- 24 **Nina:** φρούτα και λαχανικά
fruits and vegetables
- 25 **Mrs B:** μάλιστα (.) άλλο;
yes (.) what else?
- 26 **Vladimir:** ε... να μην πίνουμε κόκα κόλα γιατί **έσιει** πολλή ζάχαρη
e... not to drink coca cola because **it has** a lot of
sugar

27 **Mrs B:** α... θυμάστε πόσα κουταλάκια;
a... do you remember how many spoonfuls?

28 **Vladimir:** ε (.) ναι (.) πέντε
e (.) yes (.) five

29 **Mrs B:** νομίζω δέκα
I think ten

30 **Manolis:** ό...ι... κυρία
no... miss

31 **Mrs B:** νομίζω έχει δέκα κουταλάκια ζάχαρη (.) δεν είμαι σίγουρη
βέβαια (.)
I think it has ten spoons of sugar (.) I am not sure of
course (.)

32 αλλά έτσι τον άκουσα [να λέει
but I think that's what I heard him saying

33 **Manolis:** [τέσσερα
[four

34 **Mrs B:** τι άλλο σας είπε (.) ν' αποφεύγετε να τρώτε; (.)
what else did he tell you (.) to avoid eating? (.)

35 να να μην τρώτε κάθε μέρα αλλά (.) κά...ποτε σπάνια;
not not to eat every day but (.) sometimes... rarely?

36 **Vladimir:** σοκολάτα
chocolate

37 **Mrs B:** α... σοκολάτα γλυκά (.)
a... chocolate sweets (.)

38 λοιπόν αυτή την εβδομάδα όλην στο σχολείο (.)
so the **whole** of this week at the school (.)

39 θα μιλούμε για την υγιεινή (.) δια.τρο.φή. (.)
we will be talking about healthy (.) eating... (.)

40 καταλαβαίνετε τι σημαίνει υγιεινή [διατροφή;
do you know what healthy eating means?

41 **Vladimir:** [όι (.) εγώ εν...ηξέρω
[no (.) I **don't...know**

42 **Mrs B:** εσύ Μανώλη;
you Manolis?

43 **Manolis:** υγιεινά φαγητά
healthy foods

44 **Mrs B:** τρώ...με... διατροφή (.) ό,τι τρώω ό,τι πίνω είναι η
διατροφή μου
we eat... diet (.) what I eat and what I drink is my
diet

The above excerpt begins with the teacher's initiation in lines 3-6. In line 5, Vladimir says 'I know' and, in lines 7-8, he says 'He said if... if we eat well we will become nice boys and girls.' Mrs B then goes on asking him 'What does he mean by saying 'eat well'? {Does he mean} eat a lot of food?' (lines 9 and 11). With this question she adds an evaluation that expands upon Vladimir's response and encourages him to elaborate more on the content of his talk. In the next line (12), Vladimir says 'yes' and, in line 13, Manolis replies 'no'. After this, Manolis articulates a long utterance in lines 13-15. In the next lines (18-20), Mrs B encourages Nina to talk because she has not said anything since the beginning of the lesson. Here she adopts Vladimir's words in line 8 ('become nice boys and girls') and builds on it encouraging them to elaborate further. Nina responds by saying 'fruits and vegetables' (line 24) and the teacher says 'yes' (line 25). She then goes on asking them 'What else?' (line 25). In

line 26, Vladimir says ‘e... not to drink coca cola because it has a lot of sugar’. Mrs B, in the next line (27), adds another expansion sequence encouraging him to elaborate further. Vladimir responds by saying ‘five’ (line 28). In lines 29, 31 and 32, Mrs B participates in the discussion as a co-communicator by adding her opinion. In lines 30 and 33, Manolis disagrees ‘no... miss four’. The teacher then proceeds to ask them ‘What else did {the nutritionist} tell you to avoid eating and not to eat it every day but sometimes... rarely?’ (lines 34-35). In line 36, Vladimir goes ‘chocolate’ and, in line 37, Mrs B says ‘a... chocolate’ and adds ‘sweets’. She then introduces the term ‘healthy diet’ to the students and asks them to tell her if they know what it means (lines 38-40). In line 41, Vladimir goes ‘No, I don’t... know.’ In the next line (42), Mrs B asks Manolis if he knows the meaning of ‘healthy diet’ and, in line 43, he replies ‘healthy foods’. In line 44, Mrs B recapitulates by saying ‘What I eat and what I drink is my diet.’

In the excerpt above, we can see that Mrs B engaged the GAL students in a discussion about the topic of a ‘healthy diet’. She did this by encouraging them to reflect on a school lecture by a nutritionist that occurred the day before the lesson. The school dedicated the whole of that week to healthy diets and the teachers had to engage their pupils in relevant activities. Mrs B was trying perhaps in this way to help the GAL children understand as well as take part in the school life. In the above excerpt, the children willingly engaged in the discussion, offered answers to the teacher’s questions, provided their own opinions, and agreed or disagreed with each other or with their teacher.

The two excerpts above (5.4 and 5.5) derive from two different lessons in class B. Mrs B dedicated an important part of these lessons to engaging the GAL students in discussions about the meaning of multimodal texts or developing ideas about different topics that related to the children, which consequently they were able to talk about. During these discussions, she used a lot of comprehension questions, but also her evaluations gave the opportunity to the students to expand and elaborate on their responses. Throughout the rest of the lesson time, the students listened to her reading texts, practised reading themselves, responded to text-based questions, and worked on worksheets with exercises about grammar points or vocabulary. The same was the case with her GAL lessons in class C. Her lessons seemed to be effective, since the GAL students successfully engaged in discussions, produced and offered as well as

using language effectively and meaningfully. It seems that Mrs B tried to avoid using GCD, but she did so on a few occasions, whereas the children used a hybrid form of SMG and GCD.

I pointed out earlier that Mrs A's brief use of CLT seemed to be much more effective than her direct grammar teaching method and in this section, it has been demonstrated that Mrs B's extended use of CLT appears to have worked well. In showing the two examples above I would argue that Mrs B's approach using CLT seems to be effective for producing the desired engagement with language and the desired forms. The reasons why this might be the case have been touched upon by a number of other researchers. The rationale behind the concept of Communicative Language Teaching arose in the beginning of the 1970s. It represented a move away from ideas according to which language is an autonomous linguistic system and that language learning is achieved through the mere mastery of grammar and vocabulary. Halliday with his concept of 'language function' gave emphasis to the importance of the functional dimension of language (Leung, 2010; Richards and Rodgers, 2001). Moreover, according to the Hallidayan functional view of language, there is relationship between meaning and linguistic form:

“What we, as language users, mean to express in speech and writing is realised by the specific linguistic recourses (e.g. words and clauses/sentences) we select to represent our meaning. By the same token, what we say or write *is* what we mean” (Leung, 2010: 2, italics as in original).

Moreover, Hymes's work on communicative competence highlighted the communicative potential of language (Richards and Rodgers, 2001). According to the notion of communicative competence, “what counts as competence in language communication can vary within a speech community, let alone cross different speech communities” (Leung, 2010: 3). For Hymes, more than linguistic competence is required to facilitate pupils in communicating in a language, for communicative competence is also required, that is, understanding when and how to say what to whom (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson, 2011). Put another way, communicative competence is the capability to use appropriate language in a range of communicative circumstances (Bagarić and Mihaljević Djigunović, 2007).

The abovementioned theoretical ideas have largely influenced English as an additional language teaching during the past four decades (Leung, 2008). Since the mid-1970s, language teaching specialists, curriculum development centres and textbook writers have increasingly accepted these ideas. They have tried to establish as the main target of language teaching the concept of communicative competence (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson, 2011; Richards and Rodgers, 2001), which “has spawned a broad set of theoretically linked principles and classroom practices now commonly known as Communicative Language Teaching” (Leung, 2008: 146). This approach’s major tenet is to facilitate student fluency in the target language. To do so:

“students need knowledge of the linguistic forms, meanings, and functions. They need to know that many different forms can be used to perform a function and also that a single form can often serve a variety of functions. They must be able to choose from among these the most appropriate form, given the social context and the roles of the interlocutors. They must also be able to manage the process of negotiating meaning with their interlocutors” (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson, 2011: 121).

The role of the teacher during the lessons is to act as a facilitator who organises activities that promote communication and as an advisor during these activities in order to monitor pupils’ performance as well as to answer their questions. Sometimes, the teacher’s role is also that of a ‘co-communicator’ engaging with the learners in the activities, whereas the students assume that of the communicators. Under these circumstances, according to Larsen-Freeman and Anderson (2011: 122), “they are actively engaged in negotiating meaning – in trying to make themselves understood – even when their knowledge of the target language is incomplete”.

Language is viewed as not only knowing the forms and their meanings (linguistic competence), but also the functions for which it is used (communicative competence) and therefore, “the learner needs knowledge of forms and meanings and functions” (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson, 2011: 124). At the same time, the learner must take into account the social situation when using this knowledge and thus, understanding language functions becomes more important than knowing linguistic forms.

5.2 The problem of how to deal with the existence of GCD in everyday school and classroom interaction

Another problem that arose from the data is how to deal with the existence of GCD in everyday school and classroom interaction. Mrs A tried to tackle the problem by teaching grammar in a mixture of SMG and GCD. However, this appeared to be problematic because her GAL students reproduced GCD words in their written work, something that is considered wrong by the mainstream curriculum. On the other hand, Mrs B constantly avoided using GCD in her parallel lessons. However, she gave space to her GAL students to express themselves through SMG, GCD or a mixture of both without interrupting them. When necessary, she used the dialect to help the children understand new vocabulary in SMG.

5.2.1 Mrs A's grammar teaching in a mixture of GCD and SMG

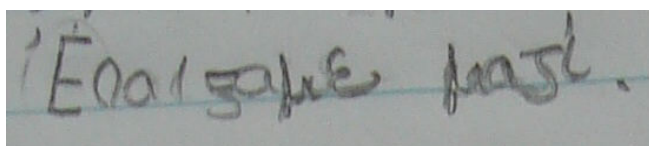
As we saw in the previous section, Mrs A's grammar teaching through the use of IRE ended up as a guessing game and thus did not seem to promote learning effectively. Furthermore, the fact that this kind of teaching was de-contextualised and dealt with more than one tense simultaneously made the lesson complicated and difficult for the children to understand. Another issue that arose from the analysis of the classroom data is that grammar teaching was taking place in a hybrid of SMG and GCD, which made the lesson even more challenging for the GAL pupils. This is apparent in the two excerpts cited in the previous section. For example, looking again at extract 5.2 lines 3-8 – also quoted below – we can observe that both Mrs A and the GAL pupils in the course of teaching and learning the past simple tense used verbs in both GCD and SMG. The phrases that are in GCD are in bold letters.

3. **Samira:** για το πάρκο (3) **επήγα** στο πάρκο
for the park (3) **I went** to the park
4. **Mrs A:** πήγα [στο πάρκο] (.)
I went to the park (.)
5. **Samira:** [στο πάρκο
[to the park]
6. **Mrs A:** **επήγα** μια φορά
I went once
7. **Samira:** και **ετέλειωσε**
and **it finished**
8. **Andrei:** [εγώ πήγα [πολλές φορές
[I went a lot of times]

In line 3, Samira provides the phrase ‘I went to the park’ as an example of the past simple tense, which arose from a discussion about what students had done during the Easter holidays that occurred earlier on in the lesson. Here, she uses the verb ‘I went’ in GCD (epia [επήα]). In line 4, Mrs A takes up Samira’s phrase and repeats it, but she ‘corrects’ the verb ‘I went’ and emphasises its SMG version (piya [πήγα]), which is different from that in GCD. However, when Mrs A explains the meaning of the past tense of the verb in line 6 (‘I went once’), she uses GCD. In line 7, where Samira completes the teacher’s previous utterance ‘I went once’ about the meaning of the past tense of the verb, ‘I went’, she articulates the phrase ‘and it finished’ in a mixture of GCD and SMG. Here, ‘and’ is in SMG whereas ‘it finished’ is in GCD. In line 8, Andrei uses the verb ‘I went’ in SMG.

This situation is not unique to Mrs A’s parallel class, but rather, as revealed in section 1.2, is the norm in classrooms in the Greek-Cypriot community. Despite the MEC’s expressed instructions with regards to the employment of SMG as the medium of oral and written communication in the classroom, research on the actual linguistic performance of teachers and students has shown that, whereas SMG is typically used for written work, oral communication often takes the form of a mixture of GCD and SMG (see Hadjioannou, 2006; Ioannidou, 2009; Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). In the case of Mrs A’s grammar lesson about teaching the past tense, the use of verbs in both GCD and SMG complicated things for GAL pupils because they were not taught the differences of the two linguistic codes and how to differentiate between their usages in context (Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). They actually became confused and reproduced past tense verbs in GCD in their written work, something that is regarded as wrong according to the Greek-Cypriot mainstream curriculum. One such example is the image below from the text that Samira wrote about how she spent the weekend as part of the last activity of the lesson. She wrote the sentence ‘We played together.’ (‘Epexame mazi.’) in which the verb is in GCD (epexame [επαίξαμε]) and has an extra ‘e’ at the beginning when compared to the corresponding one in SMG (pexame [παίξαμε]).

Image 5.4



The MEC's policy document for PIGLLC does not offer guidance to teachers with regards to how they should deal with the existence of GCD in schools and Greek-Cypriot society at large when teaching Greek to GAL pupils. Perhaps it is part of the MEC's general strategy to ignore GCD: "in the whole of the [Greek-]Cypriot national curriculum no acknowledgement is made of the fact that GCD is the actual mother-tongue of [Greek-]Cypriots" (Yiakoumetti, 2007: 53; see also Yiakoumetti et al., 2005). Since one of the two linguistic codes which are present in the community is completely absent from the curriculum official documents and its existence is not officially acknowledged, it can be argued that the Greek-Cypriot educational system considers SMG as the home variety of Greek-Cypriot pupils in order to make stronger the links between the Greek-Cypriot community and Greece, thereby strengthening their 'Greekness' (see section 1.2).

The absence of directions in the MEC's circular for PIGLLC concerning the co-existence of GCD and SMG raises important questions about GAL teaching: 1) When the MEC says PIGLLC, does it mean everyday spoken Greek lessons or SMG lessons? 2) If it is about everyday spoken Greek lessons, then what about SMG? 3) If it is about organising SMG lessons, then does this mean that GAL students should already be able to communicate in everyday spoken Greek? 4) What about Greek-Cypriot pupils who also have difficulties in SMG writing?

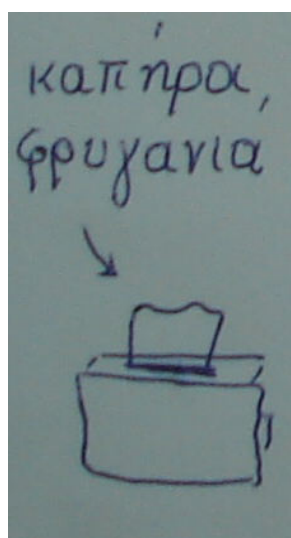
5.2.2 Mrs B's avoidance of using GCD and her clarifications when necessary

It is significant to state here that, in contrast to Mrs A, Mrs B continuously avoided using GCD during her parallel language teaching and tried to only use the SMG. However, her GAL students did use GCD and this is apparent in both the excerpts analysed in subsection 5.1.2. Mrs B gave space to the GAL students to express themselves either through the standard or through the dialect without interrupting.

Karyolemou et al. (2011) conducted qualitative research with the purpose of evaluating the enactment of the PIGLLC policy in secondary education. These authors argue that, in addition to following the Greek-medium curriculum, newly arrived migrant children have to deal with 'internal diglossia' in Greek-Cypriot

society between SMG and GCD. They claim that in the absence of an official strategy with regards to GCD, parallel teachers adopt various approaches: the majority avoid any reference to the dialect except in cases when GAL pupils ask for clarification; a small number accept the role of GCD as a communication tool; and some adopt the strategy of “right” and “wrong”, encouraging GAL students not to use the dialect.

During my fieldwork, Mrs B did not address the existence of the dialect in schools and the Greek-Cypriot community in general – at least with the older GAL students. But in image 5.3 (also presented below) we can see that when necessary she gave clarification. In this case, in order to help a child understand the meaning of a word in SMG she used the equivalent word in the dialect.



GCD: 'kapira' (toast)

SMG: 'fryania' (toast)

In sum, in both Mrs A and Mrs B's work in the classroom there was the issue of SMG and GCD mixing. Many scholars have written extensively about this issue in relation to mainstream students (see for example Hadjioannou, 2009; Ioannidou, 2009; Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004; Sophocleous and Wilks, 2010; Tsiplakou, 2004b; 2007; Yiakoumetti, 2006; 2007). These studies argue for the necessity to recognise the problems faced by Greek-Cypriot students in SMG learning due to the existence of their dialectal variety that differs from the one promoted by the state in schools. Furthermore, these studies emphasise the need to promote and cultivate the home variety of Greek-Cypriots in order to prevent any kind of negative attitudes towards the dialect (Ioannidou, 2009; Yiakoumetti and Mina, 2011). The literature

says it is a problem for Greek-Cypriot students. However, here my focus has been on this issue in relation to the GAL students.

5.3 The problem of choosing between monolingual instruction or GAL instruction using home languages

The third problem that emerged is choosing between either monolingual instruction or GAL instruction using home languages. Mrs A emphasised monolingual instruction, whereas Mrs B developed GAL instruction using her students' home languages. More specifically, Mrs A did not encourage her GAL pupils to use their home languages during the lessons and avoided using English with them. As she stated in the interview, she tried to teach using only Greek. On the other hand, Mrs B encouraged her GAL pupils to communicate between themselves in their shared home language (Romanian) and she used English during the lessons. She also tried to compare Greek words with the corresponding words in the children's home languages in order to help them remember the new vocabulary. In the next sections, I explain their solutions separately.

5.3.1 Mrs A's monolingual instructional approach

While doing my fieldwork in Mrs A's parallel class, I realised that Andrei was sometimes using English to ask questions about the content of the lesson. However, on these occasions, Mrs A did not encourage him to do so and avoided replying back in English (fieldnotes, observed lessons, 15/2/2011, 1/3/2011, 12/4/2011). She stated in the interview that:

I avoid it a lot. I avoid it... like I avoid using Greek when I teach them English. I believe that since... my goal is to teach them the {Greek} language, I have to use this language {in the lesson}.
(Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

This kind of teaching approach is in accordance with the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model of bilingualism, according to which there is neither interconnection nor transfer between the two languages within the bilingual mind, but instead the languages operate independently (Cummins, 1984, cited in Baker, 2000). A visual illustration of the SUP model is that of two half-filled language

balloons inside the bilingual mind compared with the monolingual's larger, single language balloon. This implies that there is less room within the bilingual mind to store grammar, vocabulary and ideas in either language. It also assumes that there is insufficient room for two full language balloons, and as the second language balloon increases proportionately, the first decreases (Baker, 2000: 72-3). This concept of separate language proficiency "emphasises instructional use of the target language to the exclusion of students' first language with the goal of enabling learners to think in the target language with minimal interference from the first language" (Cummins, 2008: 137).

However, Cummins (1984, cited in Baker, 2000) proposed a different model of bilingualism: the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model. According to this perspective, there is sufficient room inside the brain not only for two languages but also for more. In addition, there is substantial and easy transfer between the two languages (Baker, 2000). A visual image that represents the idea of the CUP model is an iceberg, where even though two icebergs are visible on the surface level, below the surface there is a common area where the two are fused. That is to say, the two languages are not separated, but instead access shared internal processing and storage (Baker, 2000: 73-74). Based on these ideas, Cummins (1986) proposed the interdependent hypothesis of home and additional language literacy development, which implies that instruction through the minority language expands not only students' academic skills in that language, but also cultivates a profound linguistic and conceptual competence that is closely connected to the growth of general academic skills and literacy in the majority language. This common language proficiency enables "the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related proficiency from one language to another" (Cummins, 2008: 145).

5.3.2 Mrs B's GAL instruction using home languages

In subsection 5.1.2, we saw that Mrs B dedicated a significant part of her parallel lessons listening to GAL children's experiences and building on their ideas. Also, while doing my fieldwork, I realised that she tried to take into account her students' home languages and use them as a foundation for learning Greek. Specifically, during vocabulary lessons, Mrs B compared new Greek words with the corresponding words in the GAL pupils' home languages. By doing so, she was

assisting them in remembering and learning the new vocabulary. Below I offer one from eight such examples identified from the parallel lessons I observed in Mrs B's classes.

Extract 5.6 derives from a lesson in class B during which Mrs B was teaching the names of the animals and related vocabulary for describing them. More specifically, it occurred during an exercise as part of which the students read short texts about animals, matched them with pictures of animals and wrote their names (see image 5.5). In the next excerpt, Mrs B, in an attempt to help the pupils remember the word 'whale', compares its pronunciation with the corresponding words in Romanian and Bulgarian.

Image 5.5: Vocabulary exercise from the book 'Margarita 3' (Μαργαρίτα 3)

7 Βρες ποιο ζώο είναι!

Είναι ζώο της θάλασσας.
Έχει τεράστιο σώμα.

Είναι ζώο του βουνού.
Είναι πολύ έξυπνη και
της αρέσουν οι κότες.

Ζει στην Αυστραλία.
Έχει μια τσέπη στην κοιλιά
και εκεί βάζει τα παιδιά του.

Ζει στο δάσος.
Έχει καφέ ή άσπρο χρώμα.
Τρώει πολύ μέλι.

Είναι ο βασιλιάς των ζώων.
Ζει στην ζούγκλα.
Είναι πολύ άγριο ζώο.

Είναι ζώο του σπιτιού.
Είναι πολύ καλός φίλος.

χονδρελί
κουνγκουρο
φαγενο
ο σκυλος
αλεπου
αρκουδα

40

Extract 5.6: Using the GAL students' home languages to teach new vocabulary

Class B, 29/4/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs B:** γράψετε (.) φά.λαι.να. (.)
write (.) whale... (.)
- 2 για να μάθουμε τα ζώα (2)
in order to learn the animals (2)
- 3 πώς λέγεται στα ρουμάνικα η φάλαινα;
tell me how is a whale called in Romanian?
- 4 **Marius:** [μπαλένα
[balena
- 5 **Ivan:** [μπαλένα
[balena
- 6 **Florentin:** [μπαλένα
[balena ((in Romanian))
- 7 **Mrs B:** μπαλένα; (.)
balena? (.)
- 8 μοιάζει λίγο (.)
it is similar (.)
- 9 φά. (.) λαι. (.) να. (.)
whale ((in Greek))
- 10 μπά. (.) λε. (.) να. (.)
whale ((in Romanian))
- 11 μοιάζει λίγο
it is similar
- 12 **Ivan:** στα βουλγάρικα;
in Bulgarian?
- 13 **Mrs B:** στα βουλγάρικα;
in Bulgarian?
- 14 **Marko:** κιτ
whale ((in Bulgarian))
- 15 **Mrs B:** καθόλου (.)
no (.)
- 16 διαφορετικό
it's different

In this extract, the teacher is trying to compare the Greek word 'falena' (whale) with the corresponding words in Romanian and Bulgarian, in an effort to assist the pupils in remembering the new vocabulary. In lines 2 & 3, she announces that there is new vocabulary to be learned and encourages pupils to tell her the word 'whale' in their home language. In lines 4-6, the students respond by saying the Romanian word 'balena' (whale). In the next lines (9-10), Mrs B compares the Greek and Romanian words for whale by pronouncing them slower and by stressing each syllable separately. Her conclusion of the comparison is that the words are similar (lines 8 and 11). Next, Ivan asks Marko to say the word for whale in his home language ('in Bulgarian?', line 12) and Mrs B repeats Ivan's question encouraging Marko to talk (line 13). In line 14, Marko says the Bulgarian word 'kit' (whale). The teacher, in the next lines (15-16), goes on to say that the Greek and Bulgarian words for whale are different. As illustrated, Mrs B compared new Greek vocabulary with the corresponding one in the home languages of the GAL children. From my classroom

data, it arose that she often used this strategy when there were new words for the pupils to learn in both of her parallel language classes.

Another way in which Mrs B used home languages during her GAL instruction was by encouraging her pupils to communicate with each other using them. More specifically, three out of the four pupils in class B were of Romanian descent and Mrs B encouraged them to use Romanian in order to help each other understand the content of the lesson. 13 such occasions were identified and in what follows one of them is presented.

Extract 5.7 derives from the same lesson as the previous extract. It occurred a few minutes later during an activity in which the students read short texts about different animals. After having read a text about cats that like eating fish, in this extract Mrs B is trying to elaborate further by asking the children whether they know of other animals that like fish.

Extract 5.7: Encouraging the GAL students to communicate in their shared home language

Class C, 29/4/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs B:** ξέρετε (.) άλλα ζώα που τρώνε ψάρια;
do you know (.) other animals that eat fish?
- 2 **Marius:** ναι κυρία (3) ε... **εν ηξέρω** στα [ελληνικά]
yes miss (3) e... **I don't know** in Greek
- 3 **Marko:** [α κυρία
[a miss
- 4 **Mrs B:** πώς το λέν στα ρουμάνικα;
how do they say it in Romanian?
- 5 =μπορεί να ξέρουν [τ' άλλα τα παι-
=the other children might know
- 6 **Marko:** [κυρία
[miss
- 7 **Marius:** () ((he says a word in Romanian))
- 8 **Ivan:** [() ((he replies in Romanian))
- 9 **Marko:** [κυρία
[miss
- 10 **Mrs B:** ποιο;
which?
- 11 **Ivan:** ε... (.) ένα λεπτό κυρία
e... (.) one minute miss
- 12 **Marko:** κυρί.α.
miss...
- ((For 3 seconds Ivan is turning the pages of his textbook searching for a picture of the animal that Marius said earlier in Romanian.))
- 13 **Ivan:** ένα λεπτό κυρία
{wait} one minute miss
- 14 **Marko:** το χιππουπουιάν
hippopotamus ((he says that in Bulgarian))
- 15 **Ivan:** μ... **εν ηξέρω** (.) α τούτο (.) ε τούτο

- e... I don't know (.) a this (.) e this ((he shows a picture of a bear in his textbook))
- 16 **Marius:** ναι κυρία
yes miss
- 17 **Ivan:** αρκούδα
bear
- 18 **Mrs B:** η πολική (.) αρκούδα;
the polar (.) bear?
- 19 [=η άσπρη αρκούδα;
[=the white bear?
- 20 **Marius:** [ό...ι... ό...ι...
[no... no...
- 21 **Ivan:** όι
no
- 22 **Mrs B:** η αρκούδα τρώει ψάρια;
the bear eats fish?
- 23 **Ivan:** ναι
yes
- 24 **Marius:** ναι (.) αλλά όι τούτη
yes (.) but **not** this one
- 25 **Mrs B:** η άσπρη (.) μπράβο (.)
the white (.) bravo (.)
- 26 η άσπρη (.) η πολική (.) μ... (2) ωραία
the white (.) the polar (.) m... (2) nice

Furthermore, during the parallel lessons, Mrs B used the shared language she had with one of her new arrival students. More specifically, she used English with Florentin in order to communicate with him, explain the content of the lesson as well as to build on new knowledge in the Greek language (in total five times).

In this section, it has been shown that Mrs B facilitated the GAL pupils' Greek language learning by building on their home languages. She encouraged them to use Romanian and Bulgarian during the parallel lessons in order to compare and find common elements with Greek as well as coaxing them to speak in their shared Romanian language in order to help each other. She also used students' experiences in other languages (English) in order to facilitate their GAL learning. So, it could be said that their languages were given space in the parallel class, and were respected and valued by the teacher. In the course of an interview, I asked Mrs B to elucidate the reasons that made her adopt this teaching approach, and she replied:

It was an attempt to see if the words have common elements in order to help them to... remember them, to appreciate their language, to see that Greek have common elements with Romanian and Bulgarian.

(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

When developing GAL instruction using her students' home languages, Mrs B consciously tried to promote Greek language learning, while simultaneously

demonstrating that she valued their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As it has been argued by researchers, monolingual approaches, which exclude immigrant pupils' home language from the classroom, communicate negative messages to them as well as to their majority peers about the value of minority linguistic and cultural background and thus reinforce the inferior status of minority languages and cultures in the wider society (Cummins, 2008). Many researchers today stress the importance of the use of bilingual instructional approaches recognising in this way the influence of societal power relations on the school achievement of minority pupils, appreciating the role of pre-existing knowledge as the base for building new learning, as well as acknowledging the independence of proficiency across languages (Cummins, 2001; 2008).

Conclusion

“What is the relation between the teacher and the policy? Do teachers simply make sense of policy, re-iterate, re-fract, implement it?” (Ball et al., 2012: 5)

The aim of this chapter has been to provide answers to address these questions. Data regarding how the policy text for PIGLLC has been received at the classroom level has been analysed. As with the institutional level, at the classroom level the teachers produced their own interpretations and translations of the MEC's policy for parallel classes, and developed different “solutions to the problems posed by policy texts” (Ball, 1993: 12). The variation of the solutions was encouraged even more by the vagueness of the policy document and the absence of detailed guidance for teachers. The two teachers imposed their own knowledge about the nature of language and bilingualism/multilingualism (separate underlying proficiency, common underlying proficiency and/or interdependence theory); they imposed their viewpoints of what language teaching is (teaching linguistic structure or emphasis on communication); and based on that they developed their own teaching approaches (grammar teaching, communicative teaching, monolingual instruction, different languages co-exist in the classroom, home languages and/or use of prior experiences as the foundation for new learning). At the same time, the teachers' classroom enactments were influenced by the school context, school ethos and culture towards diversity and immigrant students: Mrs A acted within a separationist school culture, whereas Mrs B operated within an inclusive school culture. (I will come back to this point in chapter 7 on

linguistic and ethnic hierarchies in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus and their effect on school culture.) However, I contend that what actually happened within these classes and the kinds of everyday classroom practices developed were determined by the two teachers' different personalities, values and commitments towards their work, their teaching and their students. In general, whilst Mrs A's approach seemed to be problematic, Mrs B's appeared to be quite effective in promoting language learning among the GAL students.

My interpretation is along the lines of findings from studies on teacher cognition:

“There is very little evidence that teachers simply follow teaching approaches and methods given to them on training courses or in curriculum prescriptions in a mechanical fashion in their teaching. Concepts, principles and theories are mediated by teachers' perceptions of their pedagogic aims and their understanding of what counts as appropriate and workable in their local contexts; all of this is framed within teachers' personal biography, intellectual leanings and wider social and ideological values and commitments” (Leung and Creese, 2010: 123-124).

At this point, the MEC and Greek-Cypriot policy makers would probably raise a question: ‘So what can be done?’ Of course, the development of a thought-through and well-structured policy with clear goals and clear guidelines is necessary. At the same time, it is significant that we bear in mind the findings of policy and teacher cognition research, according to which policies and curriculum prescriptions are never simply ‘implemented’ by teachers in a mechanical fashion (see Creese and Leung, 2003; Leung and Creese, 2008; 2010). It is important that the Greek-Cypriot MEC and policy makers “begin to understand that we should not expect teachers to act as compliant implementation operators of handed-down teaching approaches and methods” (Leung and Creese, 2010: 125) or “as ciphers who ‘implement’ [policies]” (Ball et al., 2012: 2). On the contrary, they are socially situated actors as well as individual persons with values and ideological positions, who interpret and translate policy texts into contextualised practices.

Taking these claims into account, a necessary step is to train Greek-Cypriot teachers about the ways they can effectively address the language learning needs of their GAL

pupils by adapting contemporary additional language teaching approaches (such as communicative language teaching and content-language integrated approaches) to their local contexts. However, just providing teachers with the necessary knowledge is not enough. For, it is also crucial to engage Greek-Cypriot teachers in a reflexive and critical self-evaluation of their own beliefs and actions, as well as to involve them in open discussion about how their educational practices can influence GAL children's schooling experience (Leung and Creese, 2010). Adopting a monolingual instructional approach, which exclusively uses the school language and excludes students' home language from the classroom, "is likely to communicate a negative message about the value of students' language and culture, thereby reinforcing the pattern of coercive relations of power operating in the wider society" (Cummins, 2008: 217). By contrast, providing GAL pupils with opportunities to use their home language in the classroom context will communicate a positive message that their language and culture is of value in the educational sphere. This will also activate their prior knowledge and experiences for use as a foundation for new learning.

CHAPTER 6

THE HETEROGENEITY OF GAL STUDENTS: Biographical Trajectories and Linguistic Repertoires

6.0 Introduction

Ball (1993) stresses that policies are not ‘implemented’ in a mechanical way, but rather, enactments vary between contexts:

“we cannot predict or assume how they will be acted on, what their immediate effect will be, what room for manoeuvre actors will find for themselves. Action may be constrained differently (even tightly) but it is not determined by policy. Solutions to the problems posed by policy texts will be localised and should be expected to display ad hocery and messiness” (ibid: 12).

Within this understanding, policies are not viewed as solutions to existing problems, but as creating problems to policy actors in school environments for which different contextualised solutions are developed. Following Ball’s claim, in chapters 4 and 5, I argued that when the MEC’s policy document for PIGLLC reaches the institutions and the classrooms, it poses problems to head-teachers and teachers. I elaborated on the problems first at the institutional level and then at the level of the teachers, and I showed the different solutions provided by the two head-teachers and the two teachers in Inner City and Outer City primary schools who took part in my study.

Ball and his colleagues (Ball et al., 2012) go further to emphasise that the students upon whom policy is enacted are often not taken into account when studying educational policies. Responding to this criticism, in this chapter, I move to the level of the GAL students. I argue that the policy document for PIGLLC also poses problems to these students, since it ignores their heterogeneity in terms of their

biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires⁵⁸, and the fact that they require different kinds of school language policies and GAL classroom pedagogies. In this chapter close attention is paid to the biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires of individual GAL students with the key aim being to demonstrate their distinctness and thus, bring into question the one size fits all approach to GAL teaching prevalent in Greek Cyprus.

The Greek-Cypriot MEC in its policy document for PIGLLC employs the label ‘other-language students’ to refer to GAL pupils but without clarifying its meaning. It also recommends that the ‘other-language students’ should be divided into two levels depending on their level of proficiency in Greek: a) ‘beginners’ for children with no knowledge of Greek and b) ‘non-beginners’ for children with limited knowledge of Greek. Beginners should attend the parallel classes for two years and non-beginners for one year. Again, there is no clarification of the meaning of these terms. It could be argued then that the guidance that comes from the MEC with regards to the GAL students is founded on an assumption that they have homogeneous linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The GAL students appear to be conceptualised merely in terms of the learning of Greek. Simultaneously though, the levels ‘beginners’ and ‘non-beginners’ that are proposed entail an overimplified view of the range of proficiency in Greek that these students might have. My claims are supported by those of Zembylas (2010a), who suggests that the MEC’s label ‘other-language students’ only focuses on language and ignores other facets of their identities. Moreover, Karyolemou and her colleagues (Karyolemou et al., 2011) stress the fact that the two levels proposed by the MEC do not help schools in making a realistic evaluation of their students’ levels of competence in Greek. In what follows, I explain how a closer look at my research data can assist with this process.

⁵⁸ In this chapter, I employ the notions of ‘biographical trajectories’ and ‘linguistic repertoires’ (Blommaert and Backus, 2011) to illustrate the complexity of the GAL students’ relationship (in terms of expertise and affiliation) to any home languages with which they have some association and the Greek language. In this way, I reject notions like ‘mother tongue’ and ‘native speaker’, which assume *a priori* the connection between origin and proficiency in a language (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Harris, 1997; Leung et al., 1997). I refer to Vertovec (2007) in order to stress the fact that the new migration flows in modern Greek-Cypriot society are superdiverse with respect to the immigrants’ linguistic, religious, cultural and socioeconomic profiles as well as their educational backgrounds and diasporic links (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). This stimulates the need to recognise the heterogeneity of the GAL students’ profiles.

6.0.1 Problems in the imagining of GAL students

The school staff in Inner City and Outer City primary schools adopted the MEC's term 'other-language students'. When I tried to talk to the teachers about the GAL students I was researching, most of them seemed to have limited knowledge about their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. My findings are similar to those reported by Theodorou (2011a). Her ethnographic research on the Greek-Cypriot teachers' views concerning the integration of migrant pupils in one highly diverse primary school indicated that:

“[A]lthough teachers were generally sympathetic towards immigrant families' financial and family problems that they knew existed, their knowledge regarding details of their students' lives, such as years of residence in Cyprus, country of origin, immigration circumstances and native language, was rather vague, incomplete, and at times inaccurate” (ibid.: 507-508).

When I took it upon myself to try and find out about the backgrounds of the GAL students who participated in my study, I realised that they were born in different places and came to Cyprus at different ages. They went to different types of schools: some had had all of their schooling in Cyprus, others had been to schools in other countries, whilst others had been partly educated in Cyprus and partly somewhere else. They had different ways of talking at home and different levels of competence in their home languages and Greek. Also, they were different in terms of how good they were regarding Greek-Cypriot academic achievement. The failure of the MEC's policy document for PIGLLC as well as the teachers in Inner City and Outer City primary schools to conceptualise adequately the pedagogic implications of the heterogeneity of the GAL students in respect of their biographical trajectories and linked linguistic repertoires meant that the provision for the focal students was questionable. This is because their diverse language and educational needs were not satisfactorily identified and hence, the local school and classroom practices developed in relation to GAL did not respond to their actual needs. It could be argued then that the enactment of the policy in this sense was non-systematic and characterised by randomness (European Commission, 2013).

As explicated earlier, there is very little research in the Greek-Cypriot community concentrating on the GAL pupils. What research there is has mainly been quantitative and has examined GAL children's school attainment in comparison with the Greek-Cypriot students (see for example Papapavlou, 1999; Symeou and Demona, 2005; Theodosiou-Zipiti et al., 2010; 2011a; 2011b). Nevertheless, this research fails to take into consideration the diversity amongst GAL pupils. To my knowledge, there is no existing research in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus that has examined the heterogeneity of GAL students in relation to their biographical and linguistic trajectories, and their different educational needs. My study aims to address this gap.

In what follows, I draw attention to the biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires of particular GAL students. I show the importance of paying attention to their heterogeneity by focusing on four different pupils who I believe represent important characteristics, which I identified in my data.⁵⁹ These children are Lazaros, Samira and Andrei from Inner City Primary School, and Nina from Outer City Primary School. I consider each of these students in turn.

6.1 Imagining GAL students in a different way

This section offers a different, more open way of imagining GAL students that avoids *a priori* assumptions of their affiliation and expertise in home languages based on their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. For each of my focal students, I sketch their parental ethnicities, where they were born and raised and where they had been schooled. I focus on what languages they engaged with on a day-to-day basis. I ask data based questions such as: What languages did each of the focal pupils speak? To what degree could they operate in Greek in terms of speaking, writing and reading? To do this I draw from naturally occurring data gathered through fieldwork that lasted five months (observing lessons, interviewing teachers, informally discussing with

⁵⁹ I do not want to contend here that I am offering detailed biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires of my four focal GAL students or that there are only these four types of GAL pupils in Greek-Cypriot schools. Although I strongly believe that this is a direction in which it is necessary to go in relation to these pupils, it is beyond the scope of my thesis to do so. My purpose in this chapter is to show the problems at the level of the GAL students posed by the policy document for PIGLLC, which as shown are a consequence of the MEC's and teachers' assumption that GAL students are homogeneous.

teachers and students, spending time in the schoolyard and in the staff room, and participating in school life).

6.1.1 Lazaros

Lazaros was a boy of Greek-Pontian⁶⁰ descent; his parents were both Greek-Pontians from Georgia. Lazaros was born in Georgia, then his family moved to Greece and when he was seven years old they came to Cyprus. During my fieldwork, he was ten years old and was attending grade 4 of primary school. Before my fieldwork, Lazaros had attended pre-primary school in Greece and he had been at primary school in Cyprus from grade 1. He had had all his schooling in Greek-speaking countries and did not have schooling in Georgian.

Throughout my fieldwork, he was reluctant to orally participate in the GAL or mainstream lessons. He lacked confidence to do so. On the other hand, when a general discussion – not directly associated with the lesson – was going on in the GAL class, he was willing to offer his opinion and thoughts. Interestingly, he never reacted when his classmates mocked him about his very low academic achievement. During the breaks, he was either alone inside his mainstream classroom or playing in the schoolyard with his older brother, who was also a student in the school.

i) Spoken language

Lazaros stated a variety of things about his speech claiming variously to speak Greek, Georgian, Armenian and some English outside school:

Εγώ μιλώ και ελληνικά και... και γεωργιάνικα και... ελληνικά και μερικά αγγλικά και γεωργιάνικα και αρμένικα.

I talk Greek and... and Georgian and... Greek and some English and Georgian and Armenian.

(Lazaros, recorded discussion session with whole class, 10/5/2011)

During my fieldwork, I heard Lazaros speaking to his parents in a language different from Greek or English. More specifically, on one occasion when his mother came to

⁶⁰ For information on this ethnic minority group see subsection 1.3.1.

the school to give to his mainstream class teacher a doctor's certificate to justify her son's absence from classes, I heard Lazaros speaking to his mother in a language different from Greek or English (fieldnotes, 1/3/2011). I believe this language was Georgian because on another occasion when I spoke to his father on the phone using Greek, the father told me that they spoke to their children in Georgian and Greek (fieldnotes, 22/1/2011). However, I heard Lazaros speaking to his older brother (Neofitos) in Greek. Neofitos was two years older than Lazaros and was attending grade 6 during my fieldwork. On numerous occasions during the school breaks, I heard the two brothers talking to each other in Greek (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 29/3/2011, 12/4/2011, 10/5/2011).

In practice, Lazaros spoke a mixture of SMG and GCD⁶¹ as well as other Greek-Cypriot children of his age and his accent also sounded like other Greek-Cypriot children. The following extract offers a speech example of Lazaros' fluency and accuracy. This extract occurred at the beginning of a parallel Greek language lesson during a discussion between Mrs A and the students about what they had done during the Easter holidays. It shows Lazaros' verbal contribution expressing himself fluently in a mixture of SMG and GCD. Bold letters indicate words and utterances in Greek-Cypriot dialect.

Extract 6.1

Class A, 3/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Lazaros:** το Πάσχα **ήρταν** τα ξαδέρφια μου
my cousins **came** on Easter
- 2 **=επαίξαμε-**
=we played-
- 3 **Mrs A:** ποια ξαδέρφια σου; (.) πιο μεγάλα;
which cousins of yours? (.) older?
- 4 **Lazaros:** ε... σαν εμένα (.)
e... like me (.)
- 5 ε... **ήρταν** (.) **επήαμε εκάναμε λίον** (.) ένα δεντρόσπιτο
e... **they came** (.) **we went we did little** (.) a tree-house
- 6 **Mrs A:** δεντρόσπιτο (.) πού το **εκάματε** το δεντρόσπιτο;
tree-house (.) where **did you build** the tree-house?
- 7 **Lazaros:** ε... **τζει νάνω** στην πολυκατοικία μου **έτσι** ()
e... **there at** my apartment building **there is** ()
- 8 **Mrs A:** μ...
m...

⁶¹ See section 1.2 for a discussion on Greek-Cypriot teachers and students' use of a mixture of SMG and GCD in class. However, the MEC requires the exclusive use of SMG and ignores their actual dialectal language for reasons of promoting the Greek nation language and hence Greek-Cypriots' sense of Greekness.

- 9 **Lazaros:** ε... κι ύστερα (2) κι ύστερα **πήαμε** πάρκο
 e... and then (2) and then **we went** to the park
 (...)
- 10 και μετά **πήαμε** στο χωράφι της θείας μου (.) **τζι** ύστερα-
 and then **we went** at my aunt's land (.) **and** then-
- 11 **τζι** ύστερα **επήαμε** σε γενέθλια
 and then **we went** to a birthday party

It is notable that even though Lazaros participated orally in general discussions occurring during the GAL lessons by speaking fluently in a mixture of SMG and GCD, articulating long utterances (as revealed by the above excerpt), he was reluctant to do so in academically oriented talk, seemed less confident and stayed silent for most of this time. So far, I have sketched Lazaros' spoken language. In what follows I turn to his SMG literacy.

ii) Reading and writing

On one occasion when Mrs A asked Lazaros to read a short text in SMG, he made a lot of mistakes, like reading the same words more than once or skipping others, struggling with complex words as well as not paying attention to commas and full stops. The following extract shows what he said after he had finished reading the text, which confirms that he did not feel confident participating in the lesson, as indicated above:

Extract 6.2

Fieldnotes: Class A, 21/3/2011.

- 1 **Lazaros:** Κυρία, **συγχύζουμαι**.
 Miss, **I am confused**.
- 2 **Mrs A:** Μια χαρά τα διάβασες.
 Your reading was fine.
- 3 **Lazaros:** Όι κυρία σε **ούλα συγχύζουμαι**.
 No miss **I am confused** about **everything**.

In addition to reading difficulties, Lazaros had significant problems in relation to writing in SMG and image 6.1 below presents an example. It comes from a lesson that Mrs A spent on teaching the present tense, and in particular, shows an instance when she had given Lazaros a grammar exercise. In this exercise, she was trying to get him to add inflections to verbs in order to produce their present tense forms. In SMG, there is a linguistic feature according to which a verb is inflected for tense, number

and person.⁶² For instance, there are six inflected present tense forms for the verb ‘I drink’ (pino [πίνω]). What is required in this situation is that the stem of the verb ‘pin’ (πιν-) remains the same and different endings are added to indicate the present tense and the different personal pronouns for the verb: ‘o’ (-ω) for the first-person-singular, ‘is’ (-εις) for the second-person-singular, ‘i’ (-ει) for the third-person-singular, ‘ume’ (-ουμε) for the first-person-plural, ‘ete’ (-ετε) for the second-person-plural and ‘un’ (-ουν) for the third-person-plural. Mrs A tried to make the exercise even simpler by offering Lazaros two examples of present tense verbs with the inflections marked out and all he had to do was put them in the right place for two other present tense verbs. He was given the inflected present tense forms for the verbs ‘I write’ (yrafo [γράφω]) and ‘I play’ (pezo [παίζω]) with the endings being stressed using bold letters as examples. He was expected to produce the inflected present tense forms for the verbs ‘I see’ (vlepo [βλέπω]) and ‘I drink’ (pino [πίνω]). However, as shown in image 6.1, Lazaros made mistakes. For example, in the right hand column in line 9, Mrs A underlined in red pen the ending of the verb, because Lazaros used the wrong ending and wrote ‘pinis’ instead of ‘pini’ for the third-person-singular. This kind of inflection should be known by mainstream grade 4. The fact that Lazaros made mistakes, even though Mrs A tried to make the exercise simpler by offering examples, is an indication of his low academic performance⁶³.

Together with the inflected present tense forms of two different verbs, Lazaros also had to write their personal pronouns. For instance, ‘ego’ ([εγώ] me), ‘esi’ ([εσύ] you), ‘aftos/afti/afto’ ([αυτός/αυτή/αυτό] he/she/it), ‘emis’ ([εμείς] us), ‘esis’ ([εσείς] you) and ‘afti/aftes/afta’ ([αυτοί/αυτές/αυτά] they). Again, Mrs A tried to make the exercise simpler by offering him examples with the personal pronouns for the verbs

⁶² In SMG, a verb has three moods or forms: the indicative, the subjective and the imperative. Here, Mrs A is trying to teach to Lazaros the indicative mood (οριστική), which presents the action of the verb as real and certain. Furthermore, based on the way that SMG verbs conjugate, they are divided into two groups: A conjugation (Α’ συζυγία) and B conjugation (Β’ συζυγία). In this example, Mrs A is teaching verbs from the A conjugation group to Lazaros.

⁶³ I encountered a problem when trying to give an impression of the academic levels of my focal students because in the Greek-Cypriot primary education system no evaluation system exists. When I use the labels ‘above average’ or ‘high level’, I am referring to children who are on track to do very well in their school certificate and go on to university. When I say ‘average’ or ‘middle level’, I am referring to children who get some passes in the school leaving exam, but do not go on to higher education. When I use ‘below average’ or ‘low level’, I am referring to children whose reading and writing is not good by SMG academic standards. It is notable that the children who do well in the school system are the ones who engage in less GCD pronunciation and grammar as well as using fewer GCD lexical terms.

and all he had to do was to copy them in the right place. However, he made mistakes. In lines 8-12, Mrs A inserted corrections. Looking closer at these lines, it can be seen that Mrs A inserted in red pen the accent marks on the words, because Lazaros omitted the accents on the subject words. Omitting the accents constitutes a typical spelling mistake among Greek-Cypriot students with low academic performance. In appendix 7 (page 318), more examples of Lazaros's schoolwork can be found, which can be considered as additional evidence of his very low academic attainment.


The observations with respect to Lazaros have indicated that, even though he spoke fluently a mixture of SMG and GCD, when it came to reading and writing in the former, he was an academic low achiever. Mrs A confirmed this in the interview:

Lazaros lived in Greece. He knows how to speak ((Greek)) but has a big problem with writing, big. So, the goal for Lazaros is to learn to write. He also has to learn, for example, ((how to use)) capitals, dots (...) which he did improve a lot. (...) ((He also needs to learn)) to create some sentences on his own without copying them, without them being the answer to a question. (...) Also, grammar and spelling are goals. But these are also problems that my {Greek-}Cypriot students have.
(Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

The question then arises as to why was he in an intensive Greek language class? Having sketched the profile of Lazaros, his spoken language and his SMG literacy, I now proceed to Samira.

Image 6.1

Ονοματεπώνυμο _____



Η Γραμματικούλα λέει:

Οι λέξεις που φανερώνουν ότι κάποιος **κάνει** **κάτι** και μπορούν να πάρουν μπροστά τους μία από τις λεξούλες **εγώ, εσύ, αυτός, εμείς, εσείς, αυτοί**, λέγονται **ρήματα**.

π.χ. εγώ παίζω, εσύ τραγουδάς, αυτός τρώει, εμείς διαβάζουμε, εσείς χορεύετε, αυτοί βλέπουν

Verb 'write' - present tense inflections

Εγώ γράφω	Εγώ παίζω	1
Εσύ γράφεις	Εσύ παίζεις	2
Αυτός γράφει	Αυτός παίζει	3
Εμείς γράφουμε	Εμείς παίζουμε	4
Εσείς γράφετε	Εσείς παίζετε	5
Αυτοί γράφουν	Αυτοί παίζουν	6

Verb 'play' - present tense inflections

Αναβάζω προσεκτικά και προσπαθώ να τα λέω και εγώ.

Verb 'see' - present tense inflections

Εγώ βλέπω	Εγώ πίνω	7
Εσύ βλέπεις	Εσύ πίνεις	8
Αυτός βλέπει	Αυτός πίνει	9
Εμείς βλέπουμε	Εμείς πίνουμε	10
Εσείς βλέπετε	Εσείς πίνετε	11
Αυτοί βλέπουν	Αυτοί πίνουν	12

Verb 'drink' - present tense inflections

Examples

Lazaros's writing in pencil

6.1.2 Samira

Samira was a girl of Iranian descent; her parents were both Iranians and she was born in Iran. She came to Cyprus when she was three years old with her mother and two older sisters while her father stayed in Iran. During my fieldwork, Samira was ten years old and was attending grade 4 of primary school. Before my fieldwork, she had attended pre-primary school and been at primary school from the grade 1 in the Greek-Cypriot community. She had had all her schooling in Cyprus and had not had schooling in her home language, which was Farsi.

She was a very social and polite girl. During the lessons, she was always listening carefully to the teacher, participating very willingly, working hard on her assignments and trying to be a 'good' student. She was confident and not reluctant to ask for clarifications or express her thoughts. However, when it came to her relationships with other students, although she tried hard to fit in and be part of the group of girls in her mainstream class, she was on the whole not successful. She had scuffles with some of them and was sometimes being purposefully isolated. Interestingly, she was missing from school fairly often and was usually absent on Mondays. Mrs A explained this by stating that, as the youngest child in the family, she was therefore spoiled.

i) Spoken language

Samira stated that she spoke Greek and Farsi at home (recorded discussion session with whole class, 10/5/2011). My observations confirmed her statement. More specifically, on one occasion when I tried to speak to her mother on the phone using Greek, she could not understand me (fieldnotes, 22/1/2011). I communicated with her through a friend of the family who spoke English. So, I spoke to the friend in English, he translated into Farsi and spoke to the mother for me (fieldnotes, 24/1/2011, 2/5/2011). Moreover, on several occasions when her mother dropped her daughter off at school in the morning, I heard Samira speaking to her in a language different from Greek or English (fieldnotes, 1/2/2011, 22/2/2011). The teacher in Samira's mainstream class also confirmed that Samira's mother spoke Farsi, but neither Greek nor English and therefore it was difficult for the school to communicate with her (fieldnotes, informal conversation, 2/5/2011). Furthermore, Samira stated that she

spoke Greek with her sisters. Although one of her sisters resisted, Samira was consistent in talking in Greek with her, which influenced her sister's language practices:

*Εγώ με την αδερφές μου μιλώ ε ελληνικά αλλά η μεγάλη μου αδερφή εν της αρέσει στα ελληνικά. Αλλά **τωρά** που της μιλώ... ε... **άρκεψε** να μιλά **τζιαι τζέινη** ελληνικά.*

*With my sisters I talk e Greek but my older sister **doesn't** like ((talking)) in Greek. But **now** that I talk to her... e... **she also started** to talk in Greek **too**.*

(Samira, recorded discussion session with whole class, 10/5/2011)

As a matter of fact, I heard Samira speaking in Greek with her siblings. More specifically, on one occasion when her older sister picked her up from school, I heard them talking to each other in Greek (fieldnotes, 21/3/2011).

In practice, Samira spoke a mixture of SMG and GCD. She was fluent and well understood by her teachers and peers. Her accent sounded like other Greek-Cypriot children. However, she occasionally made small grammatical errors, which Greek-Cypriot children of the same age would be unlikely to make. In what follows, I offer two examples; the first is in relation to failing to inflect the adjective (extract 6.3), whilst the second is about wrongly inflecting the verb (extract 6.4).

Speech Example 1:

This excerpt derives from a GAL lesson on Orthodox Christian Easter, where the GAL students talked about religious celebrations taking place in their home countries. Samira is seen here saying that she does not know about her home country's religious celebrations, because she came to Cyprus when she was three years old. There is a linguistic feature in SMG according to which adjectives qualifying nouns are inflected to agree with them in gender, number and case. In this example, Samira is using a numerical adjective (αριθμητικό επίθετο), 'tria' ([τρία]) three), qualifying the noun 'hronon' ([χρονών] years). However, she fails to inflect it and instead uses it as an absolute numeral (απόλυτο αριθμητικό). More specifically, in the utterance 'I came to Cyprus, when I was three years old.' (lines 3-5), when Samira uses the word 'tria' ([τρία]) three) it is a SMG grammatical error, because in SMG the word 'tria' must be

changed to ‘trion’ ([τριών] three) in order to agree with the noun ‘hronon’ ([χρονών] years).

Extract 6.3

Class A, 12/4/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Samira:** **εν ηξέρω (.)**
 I do not know (.)
 (...)
- 2 **έχω γεννηθεί τζιαμέ**
 I was born **there** ((in Iran))
- 3 =αλλά **ήρτα...** όταν γεννήθηκα (.)
 =but **I came...** ((to Cyprus)) when I was born (.)
- 4 όταν ήμουν τρία... (.) τρία χρονών
 when I was tria... ((three)) (.) tria hronon ((three
 years old))
 (...)
- 5 τρία χρονών **ήρτα δαμέ**
 tria hronon ((three years old)) **I came here**

Samira’s abovementioned grammatical error made her sound to local Greek-Cypriots as using ‘baby talk’ or an immature person’s language. For someone who spent his/her whole life as Greek-Cypriot, this error would be well known by the age of ten and he/she would not make this mistake.

Speech Example 2:

This excerpt derives from the same lesson on Orthodox Christian Easter. We see here Samira talking about a Greek Orthodox tradition according to which eggs are dyed red and are cracked together when exchanging Easter wishes. In SMG, verbs are inflected for tense, number and person, and in this case, the phrase ‘we dye’ would be ‘vafoume’ (βάφουμε), where ‘vaf’ (βαφ-) is the stem of the verb and the ending ‘oume’ (-ουμε)⁶⁴ indicates the first-person-plural present tense. So, ‘vafoume’ (βάφουμε) becomes ‘we dye’. In line 4, Samira, instead of ‘vafoume’, says ‘vafas’ (βάφας). This is a non-existent word in SMG, although the ‘as’ (-ας) inflection⁶⁵ is actually used in second-person-singular present tense verb formations. It seems that Samira was confused. However, in the next line (5), she immediately corrects her error and adds the correct word ‘vafoume’ ([βάφουμε] we dye).

⁶⁴ Based on the way that SMG verbs conjugate, they are divided into two groups: A conjugation (A’ συζυγία) and B conjugation (B’ συζυγία). In the case of ‘we dye’, the verb ending (‘oume’) belongs to the A conjugation group.

⁶⁵ This verb ending (‘as’) belongs to the B conjugation group.

Extract 6.4

Class A, 12/4/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs A:** τι κάμνουμεν το Πάσχα;
what are we doing for Easter?
(...)
- 2 **Samira:** κυρία κυρία κυρία κυρία
Miss miss miss miss
(...)
- 3 **Mrs A:** πε μου να δούμεν
tell me
(...)
- 4 **Samira:** ε... βάφας (.)
e... we vafas (.)
5 βάφουμε τ' αυγά
we vafoume the eggs

Samira momentarily produced a word that does not exist in Greek and then she corrected it. So, she did have the capability but under pressure she could slip and make mistakes. A local child of her age with Greek-Cypriot ethnicity would not say 'vafas' and therefore this kind of error could be characterised as a foreign language learner's error.

Samira's minor grammatical errors presented in the above two extracts were noticed by her Greek-Cypriot classmates. She complained to me of being teased about the way she spoke by her Greek-Cypriot classmates in her mainstream class. Even though she was speaking fluently and everybody understood her, when she produced little errors, which other children perceived that their little brother/sister would do, they laughed at her (recorded discussion session with whole class, 10/5/2011). These minor linguistic tokens analysed above had an enormous social effect for Samira as they were picked upon by her Greek-Cypriot peers in order to place her as an 'outsider'. (I elaborate on this in the next chapter.) Having sketched Samira's spoken language, I now proceed to examine her SMG literacy.

ii) Reading and writing

While doing my fieldwork, I realised that Samira could read fluently in SMG. On several occasions when she was being asked by Mrs A to read a short text from her textbook or a text she had written, I heard her reading easily, without making SMG errors (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 1/3/2011; recorded lesson, 3/5/2011).

Regarding Samira's writing in SMG, she had some difficulties that are typical among Greek-Cypriot children with middle to low academic attainment. Image 6.2 offers an example. It derives from a lesson that Mrs A gave on teaching the present tense (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 12/1/2011). In particular, it shows an instance when the teacher had given Samira an exercise in which she was presented with nouns and had to produce their verbal forms. The left hand column is the noun column, which Mrs A had written on the whiteboard and Samira had to copy the nouns into her notebook. In this column, the word at the top means 'noun'. The right hand column is the verb column, which is what Samira needed to come up with and the word at the top means 'verb'. So, for instance, in line 4, 'description' is in the noun column and 'describing' in the verb column, followed by 'deletion' and 'deleting' in line 5, 'decoration' and 'decorating' in line 6, and 'song' and 'singing' in line 9. Mrs A inserted corrections in lines 4-9. Looking closer at these lines, we see that the teacher inserted in blue pen the accent marks on the words, because in the transition from the noun form to the verbal form Samira had made mistakes by forgetting to put accents on some words or putting the stress in a different place in some others. This caused the teacher to write "Be careful with accents!".

Another example (see image 6.3 below) derives from a lesson that the teacher had spent teaching the past tense, and in particular, it shows an instance when Samira wrote a short text using past tense verbs given by Mrs A on the whiteboard (recorded GAL lesson, 3/5/2011). A close look at Samira's writing in this image reveals that after the teacher's feedback she had corrected her mistakes (bolder letters). All her errors are typical spelling mistakes amongst Greek-Cypriot students with middle to low levels of achievement. These errors were:

- i) not using capitals to begin a sentence (line 2);
- ii) not putting the commas where they should be (line 1);
- iii) and, again as in the earlier writing example, putting accents on the wrong letters or not putting them in at all (lines 2 and 3).

Image 6.2

12/1/11

Comment from Mrs A
προσοχή
σους τόνους

Noun Column	Verb Column
Ουσιαστικό	Ρήμα
1 γραφή	→ γράφω
2 αντιγραφή	→ αντιγράφω
3 υπογραφή	→ υπογράφω
4 περιγραφή	→ περιγράφω
5 διαγραφή	→ διαγράφω
6 στέλνω	→ στέλνω
7 περιπάτημα	→ περπατάω
8 βόλτα	→ βόλτα
9 τραγούδι	→ τραγουδάω


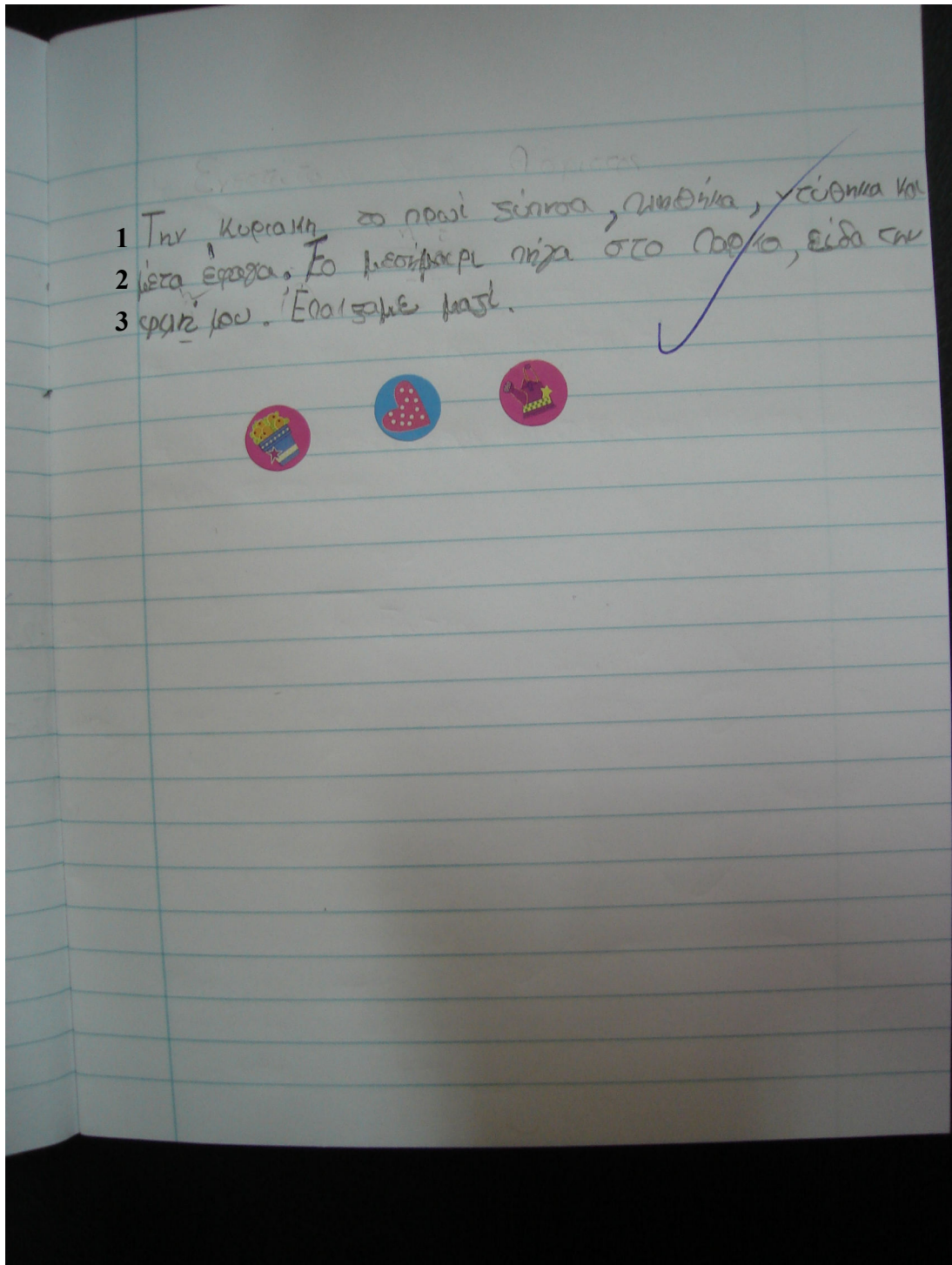


Image 6.3



In sum, Samira had been in Cyprus for a long time and could make herself easily understood in a mixture of SMG and GCD, even though she occasionally made minor foreign language learner's errors. When it came to schoolwork, she made errors that are typical among middle to low attaining Greek-Cypriot children. The question then arising is: Why was Samira removed from her mainstream class to attend an intensive Greek language class? In what follows, I am going to provide evidence of Andrei's spoken and written language.

6.1.3 Andrei

Andrei was a boy of Bulgarian descent; his mother was Bulgarian, but I do not know his father's ethnicity. Andrei was born in Bulgaria and came to Cyprus with his mother and her partner in September 2010, namely, four months before my fieldwork. I do not have information about the partner's ethnicity, except of the fact that he was an English speaker and was working in a computer company in Cyprus. Mrs A confirmed this in the interview:

*The **mother's** partner is... his English is **very** good. His job has to do with computers. I **don't know** whether he **is** educated or whether **he completed** university {course} or... I **don't know** but he **speaks** English well.*

(Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

Andrei was ten years old when he came to Cyprus and enrolled onto grade 4 of primary school. He had attended grades 1-3 of primary school in Bulgaria and thus had a few years of schooling in Bulgarian. He was also a fluent speaker of English.

In general, Andrei was a talkative and social boy. What is interesting about him is that, during the GAL lessons, he was more interested in evaluating and criticising his peers about their responses to the teacher's questions rather than actually participating himself. So throughout the GAL lessons, Andrei was responding to Samira's and Lazaros's utterances, sometimes commenting on them, while other times telling them they are wrong. Also, many times during the lessons he stressed that he was working hard on his Greek at home, even during the Easter holidays.

i) Spoken language

Andrei told me that his home languages were Bulgarian and English (recorded discussion session with whole class, 10/5/2011). As a matter of fact, on numerous occasions that Andrei's mother dropped him off or picked him up from school, I heard them talking to each other in a language that was neither Greek nor English and that I assumed to be Bulgarian (fieldnotes, 22/2/2011, 21/3/2011). Moreover, on other occasions Andrei asked Mrs A questions in English about the content of the GAL lesson (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 29/4/2011; recorded lesson, 12/5/2011) or spoke to me fluently in English (fieldnotes, 22/2/2011, 1/3/2011).

Andrei spoke a mixture of SMG and GCD, but he was not fluent, made grammatical and lexical errors and it was sometimes difficult to understand what he was trying to say. In what follows, I give two examples. The first shows an instance when Andrei tried to speak Greek but it was difficult to understand him (extract 6.5). The second example demonstrates a lexical error (extract 6.6).

Speech Example 1:

This example (extract 6.5) occurred at the beginning of a GAL lesson when the students were talking about what they had done during the Easter holidays. Here, Andrei is trying to say that the park is very near to where he lives and it is easy for him to go there. He is trying to say that it only takes him one minute to go to the park from his house, but he says instead: "My house one minute I will go to the park." (lines 1-2). He does not convey the meaning he wants and what he says makes no sense to Greek speakers.

Extract 6.5:

Class A, 3/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Andrei:** ο... σπίτι μου (.)
 my house (.)
2 ε... ένα λεπτά θα πάω στο πάρκο
 e... one minutes I will go to the park

Speech Example 2:

This example (extract 6.6) derives from the discussion session I had with the whole class. It demonstrates a lexical error. In SMG, there is the word 'kati' (κάτι) which means 'something'. Here, Andrei says 'katsi' (κάτσι) with an extra 's'. This word does

not exist in SMG. It exists in GCD but has a completely different meaning from the one Andrei is trying to convey. In fact, in GCD, this word goes with ‘na’ (να) and means ‘to sit’.

Extract 6.6

Discussion session with whole class, computer room, 10/5/2011 (recorded).

1. **Andrei:** ε... λαλείς κάτσι πράματα
e... **you are saying** katsi things

The mistakes described above could be characterised as a foreign language learner’s mistakes, since a Greek-Cypriot child would not make them. Moreover, I noticed that Andrei was mispronouncing words and his accent, as to be expected, was that of a newly arrived migrant child who was in the process of learning Greek. In what follows, I give an example of a mispronounced word.

Speech Example 3:

This example (extract 6.7) derives from a lesson on Orthodox Christian Easter. Here, Andrei is talking about Christ, but it is difficult to understand what he is trying to say. In GCD, the verb ‘he went’ is ‘epiyen’ (επήγεν), where the stress is on the vowel ‘i’ in the second syllable. In line 2, Andrei, says ‘epiyen’ (έπηγεν) and puts the stress on the vowel ‘e’ in the first syllable. This is considered to be a mispronounced word in GCD.

Extract 6.7

Class A, 12/4/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Andrei:** τούντο αγόρι πρέπει να... περπατά πολύ (.)
this boy ((*Christ*)) must walk a lot (.)
2 και... έπηγεν ε... ένα... (.) τίποτε άλλο κυρία
and... **he went** e... one... (.) {I have} nothing else {to
say} miss

Having sketched Andrei’s spoken language, I now proceed to examine his SMG literacy.

ii) Reading and writing

During my fieldwork, Andrei gave me the impression that he could read and write well in Bulgarian. Moreover, I saw him writing and reading in English quite well.

More specifically, I observed an English language lesson in Andrei's mainstream class that Mrs A taught. During this lesson, Andrei was very eager to take part and seemed confident. I saw him writing and reading in English quite well (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 3/5/2011). It could be argued then that Andrei had a reasonably high level of proficiency in two languages when he was learning SMG writing and reading.

With regards to SMG literacy, Andrei was facing a lot of difficulties but he was making good progress. In what follows, I will give one example of his difficulties in SMG writing. It derives from a lesson where Mrs A was teaching the phrases “Do you like ... ?”, “I like ...” and “I don't like ...” in SMG (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 15/3/2011). It shows an instance when Mrs A had given the GAL students an exercise for which they had to work with a partner and ask each other questions about what they liked or disliked. Then the students had to write down the dialogue in their notebooks. Image 6.4 below illustrates Andrei's written work on which the teacher had inserted in blue pen quite a lot of corrections. In lines 1, 3 and 5-6, we see that Mrs A had inserted the accent marks on the words, because Andrei had omitted the accents. Also, in lines 1-3 and 5, it can be observed that Mrs A had corrected Andrei's spelling mistakes. In line 2, the teacher had inserted the article for the phrase ‘English music’ because Andrei had omitted the article. In general, Andrei could write SMG but he had significant problems with spelling.

With regards to SMG reading, Andrei was also facing difficulties. On one occasion when Mrs A asked Andrei to read a short text he had written, I heard him repeating the same word ‘meta’ ([μετά] after) twice and also he said the wrong sound for the first letter of the word ‘epia’ instead of ‘ipia’ ([ήπια] drunk) (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 3/5/2011).

As declared above, Andrei was making good progress with learning Greek. In what follows, I give two examples of his rapid progress in writing SMG. The first example (image 6.5) derives from a lesson at the start of the new school year when Andrei first came to Cyprus. It shows an instance when Mrs A had given him an exercise in which he was presented with groups of antonym words and had to copy them multiple times. The second example (image 6.6) comes from a lesson six months later. It illustrates when Mrs A had given him an exercise in which he had to create his own restaurant

menu after looking at an example of a restaurant menu in his textbook (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 22/2/2011). We see here that he successfully completed this exercise by creating his restaurant menu, even though he made spelling mistakes. So, Andrei was making extremely rapid progress considering that he had only been in Greek-Cypriot education for a very short time.

The observations depicted in this section with respect to Andrei indicate that he had significant difficulties with speaking, reading and writing in Greek, and his errors were a foreign language learner's mistakes. The question for the MEC arising here is whether we should be holding this kind of student back from the mainstream curriculum in the pursuit of learning Greek. Having illustrated Andrei's spoken and written language, I am now going to focus on Nina.

Image 6.4

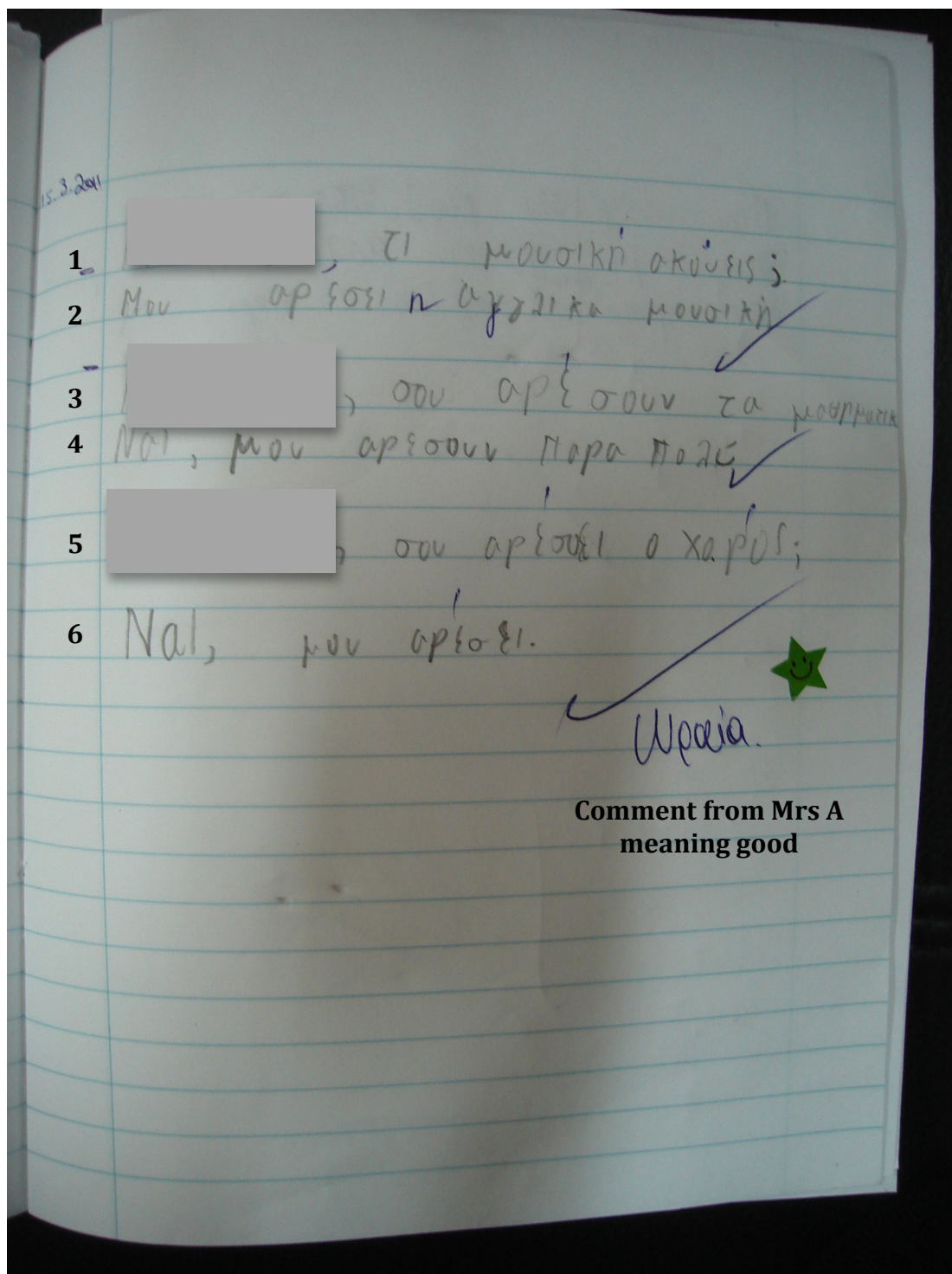
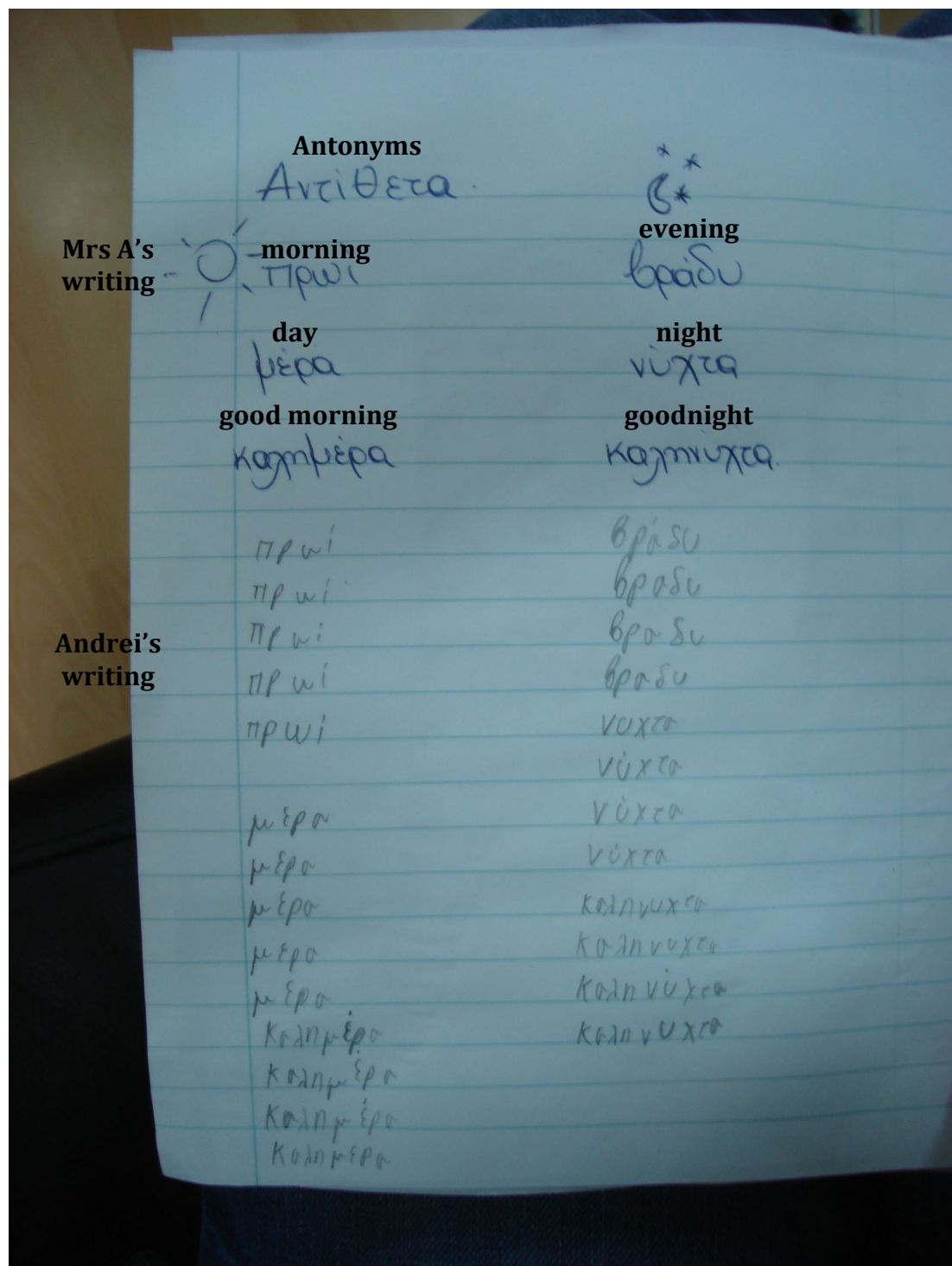


Image 6.5



[illegible]

6.1.4 Nina

Nina was a girl of Romanian and Greek-Cypriot descent; her mother was Romanian and her father was Greek-Cypriot. She was born and was being raised in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. During my fieldwork, she was seven years old and was attending grade 1 of primary school. She had also attended pre-primary school in Cyprus. She had had all her schooling in Cyprus and hence, had not been schooled in Romanian.

In general, she was a very quiet and shy girl. She rarely talked during the lessons. She participated orally only when Mrs B asked her to do so. However, she was always carefully listening to the teacher and worked hard on her written assignments. Interestingly, during the school breaks she had Greek-Cypriot friends and played happily with them.

i) Spoken language

As Mrs B stated in an interview, Nina spoke more Greek than Romanian at home. Also, Mrs B noticed that she needed time to think before speaking in Romanian.

*Η Νίνα περισσότερο μιλά ελληνικά στο σπίτι. Στα ρουμάνικα... **ε παρατήρησα** ότι σκέφτεται για να μιλήσει στη μητρική της γλώσσα.*

*Nina speaks more Greek at home. In Romanian... **I have noticed** that she has to think in order to speak in her mother tongue.*

(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

Mrs B's statement above is confirmed by my observations. More specifically, when Mrs B asked Nina on numerous occasions during the GAL lessons to say a word in Romanian or translate a phrase from Greek to Romanian for a newly arrived Romanian student, Apostol, I observed her taking quite a lot of time to think before speaking. In the end what she said into Romanian was usually just a word or a very short phrase (fieldnotes, observed lessons, 28/2/2011, 4/5/2011). On another occasion when Nina's mother dropped her off at school in the morning, I heard her mother speaking to her in a language other than Greek, which I assumed to be Romanian. On the same occasion, I heard Nina replying to her mother in Greek (fieldnotes, 2/3/2011). At the same time, I heard Nina speaking to her older brother in Greek. Her

brother, Andreas, was five years older than Nina and was attending grade 6 during my fieldwork. From my observations I realised that Andreas spoke Romanian. He was a good friend with Florentin, who was a newly arrived 12-year-old Romanian boy and on numerous occasions during breaks I heard the two boys talking to each other in Romanian (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 6/4/2011, 14/4/2011, 15/4/2011), which was also confirmed by Mrs B at interview:

*Ο Φλορεντίν είναι στην ίδια τάξη με τον Ανδρέα τον αδερφό της Νίνας, ο οποίος μιλά ελληνικά **τζιαι κάμνουν** παρέα οι δυο τους. Και **δίνεται τους** και η ευκαιρία να μιλήσουν και στη μητρική τους γλώσσα. Τους έχω δει πάρα πολλές φορές στο διάλειμμα να παίζουν και να μιλούν Ρουμανικά.*

*Florentin is in the same ((mainstream)) class with Andreas, Nina's brother, who is speaking Greek **and they hang out** the two of them. **They are also given** the opportunity to talk in their mother tongue. I saw them a lot of times during the breaks playing and talking to each other in Romanian.*

(Mrs B, recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

Although Andreas seemed able to speak Romanian fluently, I only saw Nina talking with her brother in Greek. On numerous occasions during school breaks, I heard the two siblings, Nina and Andreas, talking to each other in Greek (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 6/4/2011, 13/4/2011).

In practice, Nina spoke fluently a mixture of SMG and GCD, with her accent sounding like other Greek-Cypriot children. The next excerpt gives a speech example of her fluency and accuracy. It derives from the first lesson I observed in the parallel class that Nina was attending and shows an instance from the start of the lesson when she introduced herself to me.

Extract 6.8

Fieldnotes: Class B, 19/1/2011.

- 1 **Nina:** Με λένε Νίνα. Είμαι μισή **Κυπραία** μισή **Ρουμάνια**.
My name is Nina. I am half **Cypriot** half **Romanian**.
- 2 **Mrs B:** Τι σημαίνει αυτό; Ο **παπάς** σου είναι από;
What does this mean? Your **dad** is from?
- 3 **Nina:** Ο **παπάς** μου είναι **Κυπραίος** και η **μάμα** μου από τη Ρουμανία.
My **dad** is **Cypriot** and my **mum** is from Romania.

While doing my fieldwork, I realised that Nina did not participate much during the GAL lessons, talking only when Mrs B asked her to do so. She seemed reluctant to contribute orally in any academic work in the classroom. However, when she did talk, she appeared to be extremely fluent in Greek. In addition, during school breaks, Nina was interacting and talking with her Greek-Cypriot friends in GCD (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 13/4/2011, 14/4/2011, 15/4/2011). Both the head-teacher and Mrs B said that the reason Nina did not participate much in the lessons was because she was shy. When I asked the head-teacher why Nina was in a GAL class, she said that she wanted her to have additional small group teaching to help with her shyness (fieldnotes, discussion with head-teacher, 16/4/2011). Having covered Nina's spoken language, I now proceed to examine her reading and writing in SMG.

ii) Reading and writing

On numerous occasions when Nina was being asked by Mrs B to read a short text from her worksheet, I heard her reading relatively fluently like other Greek-Cypriot pupils of her age in the process of learning how to read SMG (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 23/2/2011; recorded lessons, 6/4/2011, 4/5/2011).

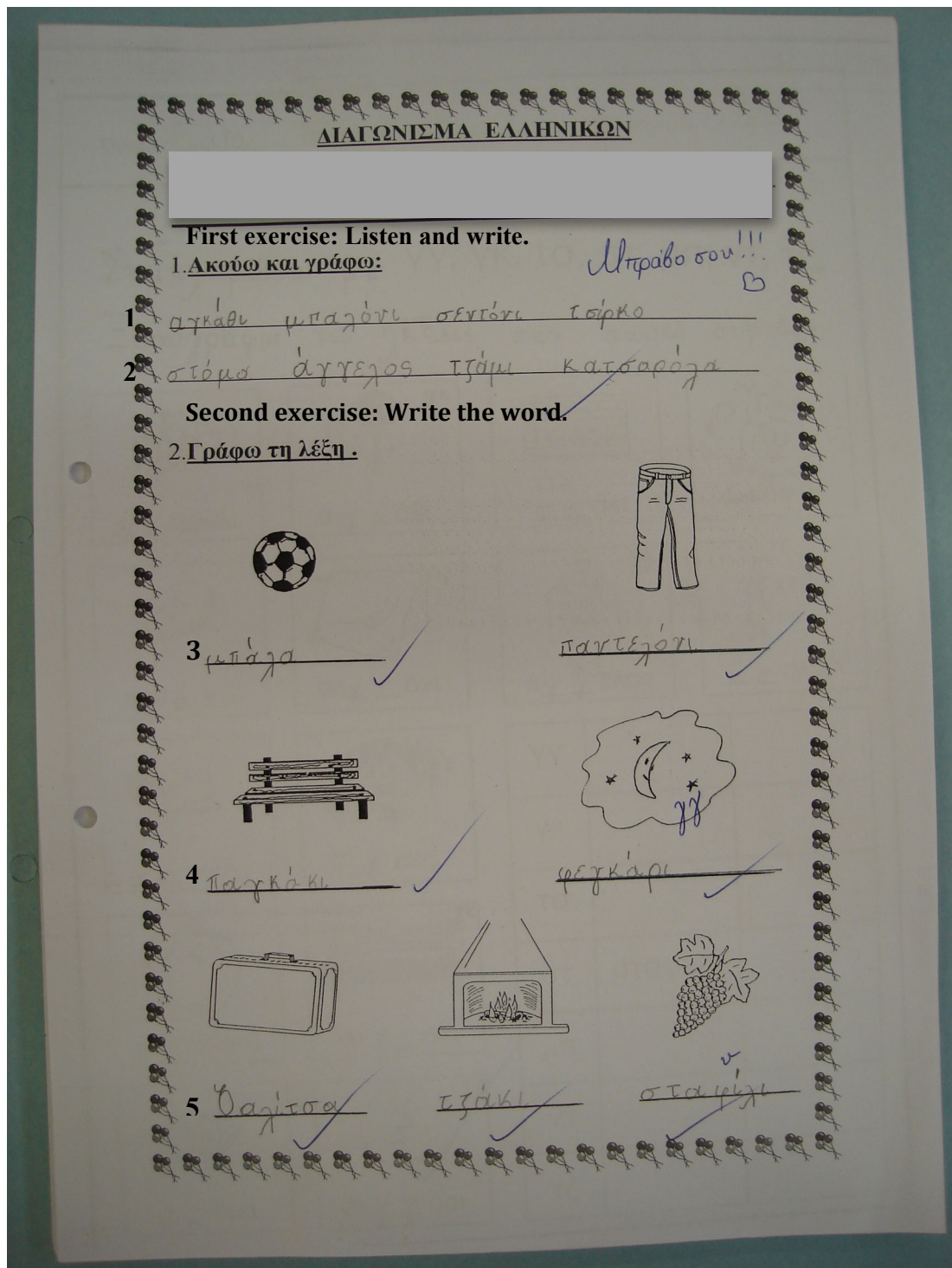
When it comes to SMG writing, I noticed that Nina made small mistakes, as exemplified by the image 6.7 below. This writing example derives from a GAL lesson in which the students had to complete a language test about words containing consonant ligatures (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 2/3/2011). This test comprised two exercises, with the first pertaining to spelling, for which Mrs B said some nouns containing diphthongs and the children had to write them down. The second exercise was a lexical and spelling exercise, which required the GAL pupils to write the word form of some pictures. These words contained consonant ligatures. Image 6.7 illustrates Nina's test in which she only made two small spelling mistakes. In line 4, although she correctly wrote the word 'feggari' ([φεγγάρι] moon), she used the wrong consonant ligature, writing 'gk' (γκ) when she should have written 'gg' (γγ) instead. These two consonant ligatures have the same sound and hence it is not easy to know which one to use when writing in SMG. In line 5, Nina made another small spelling mistake, correctly writing the word 'stafili' (grapes), but using the wrong 'i' in the second syllable, i.e. she wrote 'σταφίλι' instead of 'σταφύλι'. In SMG orthography, there are some groups of vowels that represent the same sounds. In this case, there are

five different vowels or combinations of vowels in SMG representing the sound ‘i’: ‘υ’, ‘ι’, ‘η’, ‘οι’, ‘ει’. Nina’s small spelling mistakes are typical among Greek-Cypriot pupils of her age in the process of learning how to write SMG.

On the whole, although Nina was shy and did not participate very much orally during the GAL lessons, on the occasions that she did she spoke fluently a mixture of SMG and GCD. At the same time, she seemed to have limited competence in Romanian. Regarding reading and writing in SMG, she appeared to be an average student. She made a small amount of mistakes that are common among Greek-Cypriot students who are in the course of learning how to read and write SMG. The question then arises as to why Nina was in an intensive Greek language class.

So far, I have shown the heterogeneity of my four focal GAL students in terms of their biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires. I have offered a detailed but by no means exhaustive description of some aspects of their biographical and linguistic trajectories in order to show the relevant complexity and unpredictability. Several questions have been raised as to why three of them were in PIGLLC, since they were already competent in Greek-Cypriot ways of talking. For the other student, the issue is whether he should have been getting a different kind of GAL instruction than that which he was receiving. In the next sections, I elaborate more on the pedagogic implications of GAL students’ heterogeneity. However, before doing that, I believe some insights from literature produced in sociolinguistics, sociology and anthropology would help to shed light on the heterogeneity of GAL students.

Image 6.7



6.2 Insights from literature: The notion of ‘superdiversity’

The Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus is not the only place in the world that has experienced a change in the migration patterns, rapid migration, bigger than before, and a change in the ethnic composition of the country. Scholars have characterised this phenomenon as ‘the new migration’ in order to stress the fact that the migration flows are radically diversifying with respect to the immigrants’ linguistic, religious, cultural and socioeconomic profiles as well as their educational backgrounds and diasporic links (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014; Vertovec, 2007). Vertovec (2007), in his social scientific work concerning Britain, argues that the notion of ‘superdiversity’ can be used to highlight the level and kind of complexity characterising the immigrant population, which is influenced by complex interplays of factors such as:

“*country of origin* (comprising a variety of possible subset traits such as ethnicity, language(s), religious tradition, regional and local identities, cultural values and practices), *migration channel* (often related to highly gendered flows and specific social networks), *legal status* (determining entitlement to rights), *migrants’ human capital* (particularly educational background), *access to employment* (which may or may not be in immigrants’ hands), *locality* (related especially to material conditions, but also the nature and extent of other immigrant and ethnic minority presence), *transnationalism* (emphasising how migrants’ lives are lived with significant reference to places and peoples elsewhere) and the usually chequered *responses by local authorities, services providers and local residents* (which often tend to function by way of assumptions based on previous experiences with migrants and ethnic minorities)” (ibid.: 1049, italics as in original).

This diversification of migration trajectories entails ‘superdiverse repertoires’ (Blommaert and Backus, 2013), which means that people are deploying sets of resources from various languages (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). Vertovec (2007: 1050) goes further to assert that “discovering and acknowledging the nature and extent of diversity is a crucial first step in the development of adequate policies on both national and local levels”.

Since 2001, when the MEC introduced the term ‘other-language students’, there have been enormous changes in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, which have become visible mainly in the last decade after the Cyprus accession to the EU in 2004. Envisaging GAL pupils as a homogenous category was probably never satisfactory, but has certainly become inadequate over the last decade. The introduction of the term ‘other-language students’ by the MEC reflects attempts to acknowledge some of the demographic developments in Greek-Cypriot society. However, the MEC has not made any changes to the terminology over the last ten years in order to match the contemporary heterogeneity of the GAL students. This led to the development of the PIGLLC policy, which is universal and not as sharply focused as it could be. Harris (1997) explains how a similar phenomenon occurred in the UK, whereby British schools and other educational authorities have been using the label ‘bilingual’ “to refer to ethnic minority pupils who may know and use a language other than English, irrespective of their language competencies” (ibid.: 14). This monolithic and static conceptualisation of these students is no longer appropriate, because it ignores the existence of significant differences in social and educational experiences among these pupils. It also ignores “the pedagogic needs of ethnic minority children who have lived their entire life (or a substantial part) in Britain” (ibid.: 14). Harris uses the term ‘romantic bilingualism’ “to refer to the widespread practice, in British schools and other educational contexts, based on little or no analysis or enquiry, of attributing to pupils drawn from visible ethnic minority groups an expertise in and allegiance to any community languages with which they have some acquaintance” (ibid.: 14, see also Harris, 1999; 2006).

A way of developing thinking on the heterogeneity of GAL students has been provided by researchers in other countries. They employ the concepts ‘biographical trajectories’ and ‘linguistic repertoires’ (Blommaert and Backus, 2011) to describe the complexity of people’s relationship (in terms of expertise and affiliation) to any home languages with which they have some association and the majority language (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Harris, 1997; Leung et al., 1997). Within nation-state ideologies of language, standard languages belong to specific countries and everybody else has to fit within this, but this is actually a wrong way to look at people because they move from one place to another around the world. At specific points in

their life they may be in one country, go to school there, learn to read and write, and then their family moves again. As a consequence, people have different biographies, from which they obtain a particular orientation to language and a particular repertoire. In contrast to concepts such as ‘native speaker’, ‘mother tongue’ and ‘ethnolinguistic group’, which are based on beliefs and have ideological connotations, the notions of ‘biographical trajectories’ and ‘linguistic repertoires’ move the focus away from “*a priori* assumptions about the links between origins, upbringing, proficiency and types of language” and instead towards “the ways in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages” (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 6). As Blommaert and Backus (2011: 1) point out:

“In a superdiversity context, mobile subjects engage with a broad variety of groups, networks and communities, and their language resources are consequently learned through a wide variety of trajectories, tactics and technologies, ranging from fully formal language learning to entirely informal ‘encounters’ with language. These different learning modes lead to very different degrees of knowledge of language, from very elaborate structural and pragmatic knowledge to elementary ‘recognizing’ languages, whereby all of these resources in a repertoire are functionally distributed in a patchwork of competences and skills. The origins of repertoires are biographical (...) This, then, allows us to reorient the triad of repertoires away from communities towards subjectivities, and suggest that repertoire analysis can be a privileged road into understanding Late-Modern, superdiverse subjectivities”.

6.2.1 Pedagogic implications for GAL

So far, I have referred to the theory of superdiversity as well as the notions of biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires for the purpose of explaining the heterogeneity of GAL pupils. All these lead to certain pedagogic implications, which are different than the existing MEC’s pedagogical directives and which can be discussed using Harris’s (1999) framework. That is, Harris’s (1999) conceptualisation of pupils with English as an Additional Language (EAL) in the UK context where he argues for the following categories of EAL learners can be utilised:

- a) The ‘new’ arrivals, who “may be relatively recent arrivals in the country possessing a limited acquaintance with and low levels of expertise in the English language together with little familiarity with contemporary British cultural and educational practices” (ibid.: 81).
- b) The low-key British bilinguals, who are “pupils born and brought up in a multilingual home in a British urban area. They have regular routine interaction with family and community languages other than English without claiming a high degree of expertise in these languages. They are entirely comfortable with the discourse of everyday English, particularly local vernacular English and with contemporary British cultural and educational practices. They have, however, along with fellow pupils of all ethnic backgrounds, including white British ones, difficulty in reproduction accurate and fluent written Standard English” (ibid.: 81-82).
- c) The high-achieving multilinguals, who “have a good level of expertise or an untapped potential to acquire expertise rapidly in (a) ‘home’/‘community’ language(s) other than English” (ibid.: 82).

Following Harris’s categorisation of EAL students and adopting it in the GAL context of Cyprus, we could describe Samira, Lazaros and Nina as belonging to the category of ‘low-key Greek bilinguals’, whereas Andrei belongs to both the category of ‘new arrivals’ and that of potentially ‘high-achieving multilinguals’. Harris (1999) points out the need to differentiate between the kind of provision for the new arrivals, the children who have been embedded in the society for a very long time and the potentially high achieving multilinguals. Accordingly, Samira, Andrei, Lazaros and Nina required different kinds of pedagogy. The relevant school provision should not be restricted to the oversimplified formulation of just adding PIGLLC for students who have no or limited Greek competency. The MEC should address the following questions: What kind of language help do pupils such as Samira, Andrei, Lazaros and Nina actually need? What kind of GAL support should be offered to children, like Andrei, who are already achieving well in language and literacy in their home language and already making rapid progress with their SMG language literacy? What kind of support should be given to GAL children, like Lazaros, who speak excellent everyday GCD, but who are not achieving very well in SMG in the school context and are not necessarily academically very good?

Lazaros was a Greek-Cypriot boy of Greek-Pontian descent. He had not had schooling in his home language, which was Georgian, as he had spent all his schooling in Greek-speaking environments (first in Greece and then in Cyprus). He was fluent in a mixture of SMG and GCD like other Greek-Cypriot children. Academically, he was a low achieving student with significant problems in reading and writing SMG. He did not need intensive Greek language lessons, but rather, needed pedagogy for low achieving Greek-Cypriot students with problems in SMG literacy.

Samira was a girl settling down in the Greek-Cypriot community. She was well on the way to being a Greek-Cypriot girl of Iranian descent. Samira had not had schooling in her home language (Farsi) as she had received all her schooling in Cyprus. She had been in Cyprus for a long time and could make herself easily understood in a mixture of SMG and GCD. When it came to school work, she still made some minor foreigner learner errors and academically, she had middle to low levels of achievement. Samira did not need intensive Greek language lessons and she certainly did not need to be removed from her mainstream class to attend a GAL class. What she needed was the pedagogy provided for an average Greek-Cypriot student with a small amount of problems involving common mistakes in producing SMG.

Nina was a Greek-Cypriot girl of Greek-Cypriot and Romanian descent. She had been born and raised in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, being fluent in a mixture of SMG and GCD, whereas she appeared to have limited fluency in Romanian. Academically, she was an average student making some errors in SMG that are common among Greek-Cypriot pupils. However, she was very shy and did not participate very much orally during the lessons. Nina did not need to attend a GAL class but instead may have needed support from a child psychologist.

In contrast to Lazaros, Samira and Nina, who had spent all or considerable part of their lives in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, Andrei was a new arrival. He was not fluent in Greek and therefore did need GAL support. Andrei's errors in his spoken Greek language and his SMG literacy were a foreign language learner's grammatical and lexical errors. However, he was making extremely rapid progress considering that he had only been in Greek-Cypriot education for a very short time.

He was on track to becoming a high achieving multilingual child. He already had considerable literacy proficiency in Bulgarian and English, and at the time of my research, he was making good progress in Greek. Although Andrei could benefit from intensive support with learning how to speak, read and write in Greek, the question arising here for the MEC is whether we should be holding this kind of student back from the mainstream curriculum in the pursuit of learning Greek. Scholars elsewhere in the world and specifically in English-speaking countries have talked about offering additional language support in a different way. More specifically, they recommend ‘content-language model’, that is teaching content and academic language together within the mainstream curriculum (see Leung, 2007; Mohan, 2001). As Leung (2007: 253) explains, “subject specific uses of vocabulary and discourse expressions are identified and classroom strategies are build around these in order to promote both understanding of the subject content and learning of English at the same time” (for example, for a discussion about the ways in which maths employ English language vocabulary and structures see Leung, 2005b and for a similar discussion about history see Schleppegrell and Achugar, 2003).

Conclusion

According to Ball et al. (2012: 5), many educational policy studies give no proper attention to the students with whom policy is enacted. Following this claim, in this chapter I have looked into the enactment of the policy for PIGLLC in relation to the GAL students. More specifically, this chapter intended to show how very different the GAL students are in terms of their biographical trajectories and linked linguistic repertoires, something the policy document for PIGLLC does not touch upon. I have identified four quite different GAL students and have used data to show that they were born in different places and came to Cyprus at different ages. They went to different types of schools and had different ways of speaking at home. They were also different in terms of their proficiency in Greek-Cypriot academic achievement. These GAL students’ portrayal as heterogeneous is important because it exposes the fact that there is a range of children with different needs. In this chapter, I have shown the problems in the way that the MEC imagines GAL students. I have also shown that the way that the schools and teachers imagine them is often inappropriate. As has been argued, these failings lead to problematic pedagogy. That is, a significant number of

children are being placed in parallel intensive Greek classes when it is not this type of teaching that they need.

My analysis in this chapter of four GAL pupils' biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires as well as their language and educational needs is an important starting point for understanding the different kinds of GAL students we might have in the Greek-Cypriot education and a direction in which it is necessary to go in relation to these particular students. This is in accordance with calls by Greek-Cypriot scholars for acknowledging immigrant pupils' biographies and their cultural and historical backgrounds when developing educational policies. Theodorou and Symeou (2013: 369) suggest that "the application of universal policies and practices of intercultural education based on assumptions regarding (...) [students' immigrant] status on the basis of merely their cultural and/or language background, without any serious consideration of the groups' historical and cultural trajectories and ties to the majority, runs the danger of misreading children's needs, experiences, and outlooks".

It was very important to focus on the GAL students and get some sense of their heterogeneity using an ethnographic approach. This was in contrast to the MEC's circulars asking schools to give purely numerical, ethnicity and language data⁶⁶. There is nothing wrong about asking for this kind of data but it is not enough because the GAL pupils are very varied. It is also no longer sufficient to identify GAL pupils as a homogeneous group of 'others' in need of Greek language teaching. Before head-teachers and teachers can be effective at the institutional and classroom levels, they need to have a sense of what kind of students they are being asked to teach and what their educational needs are. It is the responsibility of the MEC to provide head-teachers and teachers with such information and support them in order to be effective.

However, as I will clarify in the chapter below, there is another factor at play that has to do with how the GAL children are positioned in terms of language and ethnicity. I will explicate how in Greek-Cypriot society, there is a language hierarchy that is interconnected with a racial one. I will also show that these linguistic and ethnic

⁶⁶ Every year the MEC sends to schools circulars asking for numerical data on language and ethnicity. For the MEC's official policy documents see http://egkykloi.moec.gov.cy/Circular_items/ShowCircular_itemsTable2.aspx?CircularId=dde2705, accessed on 20/8/2014.

hierarchies affect GAL children differently, by considering the positioning of the four children analysed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 7

GAL STUDENTS AND HELLENOCENTRISM:

The effects of ethnic and linguistic hierarchies

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I pointed out that the GAL students' biographical trajectories and linguistic repertoires are heterogeneous and certainly more complex than the MEC's conceptualisation in the policy document for PIGLLC. The heterogeneity of the GAL students has implications for the nature of GAL pedagogy. While doing my fieldwork, I realised that all but one of my focal students in the GAL classes across the two schools could already speak Greek like other Greek-Cypriot children and should not be offered parallel intensive Greek language lessons. The question then arises as to why they were wrongly placed? I believe this happened not for reasons of a principled GAL pedagogy, but rather because they belonged to ethnic groups that are not favourably regarded in Greek-Cypriot society. In this chapter, I provide evidence that there are Hellenocentric anti-immigrant discourses linked to both language and ethnicity circulating in wider society and in schools in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. These discourses produce ethnic and linguistic hierarchies, which affect the school decisions about GAL children. Depending on their ethnic and linguistic trajectories, GAL students are positioned differently within these hierarchies and are more likely to be placed in parallel Greek language classes if they belong to low rank positions. In this chapter, I also show that Hellenocentric anti-immigrant discourses influence the wider school culture. The two schools that participated in my project responded differently to the PIGLLC policy document due to their specific school cultures by maintaining Hellenocentrism or by working towards an intercultural approach. I contend that the enactment of the GAL policy was not just a question of organising PIGLLC but was grounded in the prevailing dominant discourses of language and ethnicity circulating in Greek-Cypriot society.

Considering the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies is very important as this helps in the understanding of the reasons behind the phenomenon of misplacement in parallel classes of students who have a migrant background, but either full or considerable experience of living within Greek-Cypriot society and competence in everyday spoken Greek-Cypriot dialect. As already pointed out, all but one of my focal students were wrongly placed in parallel classes: Lazaros of Greek-Pontian background, Samira of Iranian origin, and Nina of Greek-Cypriot and Romanian descent. I argue that they were placed in these classes as a consequence of where they feature in the hierarchies: Lazaros is in the bottom category, Samira is in the third category and Nina is below 'pure' Greek-Cypriots. Nevertheless, this phenomenon also applies to the rest of the students who took part in my study. They were misplaced as most of them (8) are in the second category with 'White Christian Eastern Europeans', while one of them is in the bottom category with 'Greek-Pontians' (see the table in appendix 1 for these students' profiles). Even though the majority of the misplaced students in my study belong to the second category, that is, one place below 'Greeks, Greek-Cypriots and White Western Europeans', most of the immigrants associated with this category are low paid, working class people.

In what follows, I first consider the evidence about what the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies in Greek-Cypriot society are, through: (a) my experience as a Greek-Cypriot, (b) media reports, (c) the MEC's statistical reports, as well as (d) Greek-Cypriot and international literature on linguistic, cultural and social studies. I then refer to a comment made to me by a teacher who took part in my study, which also confirms the existence of the aforementioned hierarchies (section 7.1). Subsequently, I draw attention to the consequences of these hierarchies on four particular GAL students (Lazaros, Samira and Andrei from Inner City Primary School and Nina from Outer City Primary School) who were also the focus of the previous chapter. I look at each of my focal students in turn (section 7.2). In the final section, I draw attention to how these ethnic and linguistic hierarchies affect the wider school culture in Inner City and Outer City primary schools (section 7.3).

7.1 The ethnic and linguistic hierarchies

In previous parts of this thesis, I described the remarkable change that has occurred in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community due to the phenomenon of migration, which has also affected the student population (section 1.3). Nevertheless, the character of Greek-Cypriot education still remains ‘Hellenocentric’, ‘ethnocentric’ and culturally monolithic, emphasising the Greek identity of Greek-Cypriots and the superiority of Greek civilisation and culture. Moreover, the category ‘Turks’ is still seen as the ‘Primary Other’ (sections 1.2, 1.4 and 3.3, see also Angelides et al., 2004; Charalambous, 2009a; Committee for Educational Reform, 2004; Spyrou, 2006). In this chapter, I contend that the new migration did little to disturb existing Hellenocentric discourses, which produced ethnic and linguistic hierarchies.

My stance regarding the existence of linguistic and ethnic hierarchies in Greek-Cypriot society as well as its educational system is in line with other Greek-Cypriot scholars. Theodorou and Symeou (2013: 354), investigating the experiences of indigenous minority pupils of Roma descent and immigrant students with a Greek-Pontian background in the Greek-Cypriot educational context, suggest that “although both groups shared a minority status, they nonetheless experienced marginalisation across different dimensions”. They call for consideration of such complexities, because it “enables us to gain deeper understandings of children’s lives, as too often the category of ‘minority child’ seems to be treated as a monolithic and homogeneous one” (ibid.). Theodorou (2011b) argues that there was an ‘interethnic hierarchy’ at play in the Greek-Cypriot primary school in which she conducted her research. In this hierarchy, whiteness was regarded as ‘superior’ to blackness. As she explains:

“[P]rocesses of hierarchization among children appeared to echo dominant constructs regarding the modern West and whiter North, and the backward East and darker South and defined each group’s, and by implication each child’s ‘as a member of a particular group’, position in the social ladder, the peak of which was occupied by the Greek-Cypriot majority (...) This interethnic hierarchy, which (...) was inextricably linked with the social class position various immigrant groups occupied in the Cypriot society, determined

the status each student enjoyed and defined the shape of social relationships among students by instigating processes of othering among immigrant children and by immigrant children as they each fought for a higher place on the ladder” (ibid.: 247-248).

Below, I describe the tiers of first the ethnic hierarchy and then the linguistic hierarchy, which I acknowledge may be more complex than portrayed. Regarding the ethnic hierarchy, it consists of four ranks summarised in table 7.1 and I am now going to focus on them in turn.

Table 7.1: Ethnic Hierarchy

Category	Ethnicity
Category 1	Greeks and Greek-Cypriots White Western Europeans: English, Germans, French
Category 2	White Christian Eastern Europeans: Russians, Bulgarians, Romanians
Category 3	Darker skinned third world people: Asians, Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Indians, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Iranians, Iraqis, Egyptians, Palestinians, Syrians
Category 4	Greek-Pontians

Category 1: Whiter Western Europeans

At the top, there are the White Western Europeans who are regarded as of almost the same worthiness as Greek-Cypriots (e.g. Greeks, English, Germans and French). According to Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.), ‘whites’ (western Europeans and Americans) are concentrated in work that is more of the office type and a very large proportion of them are managers.

Category 2: White Christian Eastern Europeans

Next, there are the White Christian Eastern Europeans (e.g. Russians, Bulgarians, Romanians). They are considered to be inferior to Western European migrants in

Greek-Cypriot society. I believe this is the case because of the low socioeconomic standing of the majority of the Eastern European migrants in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, being largely employed in hotels, trade and restaurants as temporary workers and in the sex industry (Statistical Service, 2013; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2005). However, this category is further complicated depending on social class position, which is because East European immigrants who are well off ensure a higher status than poor workers, who generally occupy jobs that are low-paid, low-skilled and in hard working environments. As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.: 14) observe:

“Regarding Cyprus one may crudely suggest that people from different geographical areas are concentrated in different occupations, with ‘whites’ (northern/central Europeans/Americans) concentrated in more office type work, with a very large number as managers. ‘Black’ people (northern Africa/Arabs, and South East Asians, with the exception of Lebanese and Jordanians), on the other hand, are more likely to be concentrated in manual jobs. However, this is a crude and at times misleading picture: there is an anomaly with East Europeans who, depending on their class position of course, generally occupy jobs at the lower end of the market. This is also the case for the Lebanese and, to a lesser extent, Jordanian migrants” (see also Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992: 132-140).

Category 3: Darker skinned third world people

Next, there are the darker skinned third world people (e.g. Asians, Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Indians, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Iranians, Iraqis, Egyptians, Palestinians, Syrians). According to Said (1991: 7), the idea of Europe has been constructed as “a collective notion identifying ‘us’ Europeans as against all ‘those’ non-Europeans”, thus generating “the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures”. Colour is another signifier of racism and darker-skinned people are far more likely than white-skinned to be the targets of discrimination and racism (Trimikliniotis, 1999).

In Greek Cyprus, the sectors of construction, building, manufacturing and agriculture are dominated by male Asian migrant workers. These are industrious and low skill

environments (Statistical Service, 2013; Trimikliniotis, 1999; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.). Most female Asians, especially Sri Lankans and Filipinos, are domestic workers. As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.: 14) point out, “Asian women have become the stereotype of domestic workers/servants and seen as a ‘necessity’ for every household that can afford them”. Investigating the racialisation of domestic workers, Trimikliniotis (1999: 13-14) observes that:

“The headline in the most popular, but ‘serious’, newspaper is revealing: ‘Instead of every house and a Castle, Every House and an Asian Woman’ (O Phileleftheros 14.2.97). This is paraphrasing the well known phrase by the veteran leader of EDEK⁶⁷ who was for years advocating that ‘every house [to be] a castle’ in the face of Turkish expansionism. The report was mocking the fact that many Cypriots today, to gain ‘prestige’ and status, have recruited Asian women as maids”.

As a matter of fact, there are two phrases which are commonly used amongst Greek-Cypriots in casual everyday talk: “What do you think I am? Your Asian/Filipino woman?” and “I work like a ‘black’” (Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.). The phrase “I work like a ‘black’” (μαύρος/*mavros*) is also being used against migrant workers in order to abuse them. A typical example is the words of one migrant worker in the English-speaking newspaper Cyprus Weekly on 6 October 1997: “I cannot sit on my own balcony without getting verbal abuse from Cypriot people, who call me ‘mavro’ [black] or shout other bad words” (Trimikliniotis, 1999: 14).

With regard to the gender dimension, Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.: 14) observe that:

“there is a gender division of labour based on racial background: Eastern European (white) women are the first preference for the sex industry (prostitution and ‘artists’/‘dancers’), by and large replacing the traditional stereotypes of the ‘exotic’ Asian women working in cabarets, as was the case

⁶⁷ *Eniea Dimokratiki Enosi Kentru* (EDEK) or United Democratic Union of Centre is a centre party. Vasos Lyssarides served as the party leader until 2001. According to Trimikliniotis (1999: 34), the party “proclaims itself as a socialist party, but appears today to be one of the most vociferous nationalistic ones”.

before the collapse of the Eastern European regimes. Asian women are preferred for home care and ‘caring jobs’, perhaps linked to some stereotype notion of the ‘black (or dark) maid’” (see also Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1992: 117).

Spyrou (2009: 159) goes even further to suggest that “Asian domestic workers in Cyprus provide a suitable target for the nationalist imagination, which always seeks some kind of ‘other’ to direct its gaze and to construct its sense of identity”. As he explicates:

“In recent history, the primary Other for Greek-Cypriots has been the Turks, for they are represented as having invaded and occupied more than one-third of the island. Nationalism has provided for Greek-Cypriots an ideologically convenient framework for understanding and interpreting the island’s recent history and for constructing their collective sense of Self. This framework has helped to establish the boundaries of the Self through a process of inclusion and exclusion. Those outside the nation are classified as foreigners, as outsiders, and relegated to the category of the Other, those who are substantially different from the Self. (...) The Turks, being an Eastern Other, in the Greek-Cypriot nationalist imagination often lend their cultural negativity to other kinds of Easterners, such as Sri Lankans and Filipinos” (ibid.: 160).

Spyrou’s (2009) study on how Greek-Cypriot primary school students develop their identities is illustrative of their cultural negativity towards ‘Eastern Others’. This research shows that: “Easterners are in general considered to be uncivilized. For instance, 53 percent of the children considered the Turks to be ‘uncivilized’ (the highest percentage of any group considered) with Pakistanis in second place with 52 percent, Sri Lankans in fourth place with 38 percent and Indians and Filipinos in fifth place with 35 percent” (ibid.).

Asian domestic workers in the Greek-Cypriot community often contribute to the raising of Greek-Cypriot children. Spyrou (2009) has found that:

“Mistrust towards domestic workers regarding their role in the upbringing of children was one of the worries expressed by some of the children whose families employed domestic workers. Elpida (12), for example, asked whether you can trust the raising of your children to a Filipino domestic worker. In her own words: ‘Most people trust them. I think we should not, because she might, let’s say, if she takes care of a child, teach him their [i.e. Filipino] religion, the manners and customs of their country, so that your child will grow up differently’” (ibid.: 160).

Bearing in mind the lack of an anti-racist programme in schools or relevant teacher training, it would be rather naive to expect that the prevailing negativity and hostility towards darker skinned third world people that dominates Greek-Cypriot society in general would not be mirrored in the Greek-Cypriot educational environment. Quite the opposite, it should be assumed that various kinds of discrimination do occur (Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.: 26). Certainly, in recent years several incidents of racial violence against non-white immigrants in Greek-Cypriot schools were reported. For example, two recent such incidents are: a group attack against a Greek-Cypriot black female pupil in December 2008; and a group attack against Palestinian and Iraqi asylum-seeking pupils in February 2011 at Vergina High School in Larnaca (Trimikliniotis et al., 2012). With regards to the second racist incident, Trimikliniotis and colleagues (Trimikliniotis et al., ibid.: 21-22) explain that:

“A group of 20 to 25 Greek-Cypriot pupils from an unknown school who arrived at the Vergina Lyceum in Larnaca, were joined by about 100 pupils from Vergina Lyceum and together attacked 15 Arabic-speaking pupils from the specific school (...) The fight started in the schoolyard but soon spread into the school building, where teachers had to step in to protect a small group of foreign pupils from the angry mob. After the immediate intervention by the police, order was restored. One Greek-Cypriot and two Palestinian children were injured slightly and treated on the school grounds, while another Greek-Cypriot was taken to Larnaca General Hospital, where he was treated for cuts and bruises. Following the incident, the 15 Arabic-speaking students were taken to police headquarters, for their own protection and to give statements. Following a decision by the school and the parents association, the 15

Palestinian students were asked not to go back to the school until spirits had ‘calmed down’ (...) The next day the police spokesman announced that one Palestinian and five Greek-Cypriot students would be charged for the violent clashes”.

It is notable that the MEC’s response to this racist incident was to announce the intensification of GAL lessons for immigrant pupils at the school, for the Minister of Education claimed, these lessons “aimed to better integrate Arabic-speaking children in the school” (Trimikliniotis et al., 2012: 23).

Category 4: Greek-Pontians

Finally, at the bottom, there are the Greek-Pontians. There is a widely circulated representation and a common discourse about these people in Greek-Cypriot society. This discourse refers to criminal behaviour, low levels of academic achievement at school and dropping out of school. The Third ECRI Report on Cyprus confirmed the existence of negative discourses and stereotypes about the Greek-Pontians:

“[T]he members of this community are the subject of negative stereotypes and generalisations, including as concerns their involvement in criminal activities, which have in some cases been promoted by the Cypriot authorities in public debate. There have also been reports of de facto school segregation of Pontian Greek children (...) Pontian Greeks are also reported to have been in some cases subject to ill treatment by the police and discriminated against in accessing certain services, for instance from car insurance companies” (ECRI, 2006: 26).

As Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.) explain, even though racial relations between the Greek-Cypriot majority and the Greek-Pontians should be close because they are descendants of a Greek ethnic group, this is quite to the contrary. In the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, Greek-Pontians are seen unfavourably. They live in ghetto style communities in poor conditions and their contact with the Greek-Cypriot majority is generally minimal.

An indicator of the way in which the majority of Greek-Cypriots see the Greek-Pontians is the fact that they commonly refer to them as ‘Russian-Pontians’ ([Ρωσοπόντιοι] Pontians of Russia) (Papaioannou et al., 2008; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, n.d.), even though in official terms in the Greek-Cypriot community they are considered as being co-ethnic (ομογενείς) to signify their association with Greece and thus, Greek-Cypriots (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). This imposed Russianness serves to distance Greek-Pontians symbolically from the Greek nation and to categorise them as other than the Greek population by conferring on them a foreignness that negates their Greekness (Theodorou, 2011a).

There are a number of common jokes about Greek-Pontians used in everyday banter among Greek-Cypriots focusing on their intellectual inferiority. For example:

- Why do Pontians, in the evening when they go to sleep, get a glass of water and one without?
- Because, when they wake up, they may be thirsty but they may be not.

Within this perspective, the word Pontian is used in such a way to portray them as intellectually inferior, with the inference that the joke-tellers, the Greek-Cypriots, see themselves intellectually superior. A widespread negative societal stereotype concerning the ethnic group of Greek-Pontians is mirrored in these jokes told among Greek-Cypriots about the stupidity of Pontian characters. This racist stereotype “has become so pervasive among Greek-Cypriots, adults and children, that in fact the word Pontian is commonly used as a synonym for the word unintelligent regardless of one’s cultural background” (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013: 363). Examining the experiences of Greek-Pontian students in the Greek-Cypriot school system, Theodorou and Symeou observed “the mobilisation of the label of ‘Pontian’ by Greek-Cypriot children as an insult to scorn the intellectual capacity of their peers, either native or Pontian, and thereby diminish their status” (ibid.: 363).

Greek-Pontians are regarded in the Greek-Cypriot community as having low academic achievement and Theodorou and Symeou (2013) provide evidence for this perception among Greek-Cypriot students. They go on further to claim that the

withdrawal of Greek-Pontian children from their mainstream classes in order to have GAL teaching with them legitimises such discriminatory views:

“[Greek-Pontian students] often have to endure in silence the mockery of their Greek-Cypriot peers regarding their abilities and skills in the Greek language. This may pose a plausible explanation for minority students’ lower classroom participation and reticence (...) Marcos (m. GC,5 Mesogeios Primary) alludes to this when he says: ‘I think they don’t feel so happy [at school]. {Why?} Because they know they are not that good a student, they know it’. In fact, the public and formal nature of immigrant students’ removal from mainstream classes for the purposes of having remedial lessons legitimised perceptions regarding immigrant students’ lower academic achievement”.

Trimikliniotis (2001) conducted research on the primary education of students of Greek-Pontian background and argues that they are facing racial discrimination within the school from their teachers as well as Greek-Cypriot parents. Greek-Cypriot teachers taking part in his study opined that Greek-Pontian parents do not contact them on a regular basis about their children’s progress, because they seem to not trust the education authorities. Also, Greek-Cypriot teachers appeared to have the perception that Greek-Pontian pupils ‘naturally choose’ to socialise with their Greek-Pontian peers and therefore socially segregate themselves. This perception amongst Greek-Cypriot primary school teachers was also reported by other researchers (see Theodorou 2011a; 2011b). With regards to the Greek-Cypriot parents who took part in Trimikliniotis’s study, they seemed to have fostered attitudes of mistrust and hostility as well as racial stereotypes towards Greek-Pontian students. More specifically, they complained about the high concentration of students from this background in some schools, because, as a result of this, their children did not cover the syllabus and their educational attainment had suffered. The Greek-Cypriot parents requested that the Greek-Pontian children be spread out across the schools so that there would be no more than five in each class. They claimed that this is what the MEC had promised them, but had not kept to this, which was the reason why they wanted to enrol their children in other schools. Moreover, the Greek-Cypriot parents alleged that children with Greek-Pontian background, owing to their poor school records dropped out early and often resorted to crime.

As a matter of fact, a large amount has been reported in the Greek-Cypriot press about Greek-Cypriot parents moving their children from schools with high percentages of Greek-Pontian pupils and enrolling them in others. The language of the following excerpts from newspaper articles is indicative of this:

The bourgeois society of Paphos⁶⁸ does not hesitate to use a thousand “means” so that their children will not attend [classes] with children originating from Pontos or even move their children to another school where there are no students from Pontos. (Epilogos Tis Pafou, Saturday 12 October 2002: 16)

In the kindergartens of Kato Paphos, Greek-Pontians are dominant, with the result being that Greek-Cypriot parents are taking their children to other kindergartens and the same is happening in primary schools. Over time, the children of Pontians have begun to dominate also in the Theoskepasti Gymnasium, which is next to the areas they are living, and now the same is happening to the Lyceum as well. The promises [by the MEC] to spread the Pontians to different schools are not being implemented. (Adesmeftos tis Paphou, 1 November 2003: 6)

On the 19th of December 2002, a paper titled ‘Headache for the Ministry of Education is Theoskepasti Gymnasium’ was published in Alitheia newspaper. This paper describes the complaints from Greek-Cypriot parents as well as the teachers working in Theoskepasti Gymnasium with regards to the presence of a high percentage of Pontian pupils in the school. More specifically, the parents argue that “the presence of Pontian students, who need special treatment, because they are other-language students, has resulted in the degradation of the school”. The paper also refers to the ‘mass escape’ of Greek-Cypriot students from the school, because of the large number of Pontians. On the other hand, the teachers assert that “the fact that the Pontian students have been enclosed in a single school rather than integrated in the student population throughout the country is racist”. The Greek-Cypriot parents and the teachers working in the school called upon the direct intervention of the MEC to solve

⁶⁸ There is a big community of Greek-Pontians in the small city of Paphos.

the problem by spreading the Pontian students to the surrounding schools and paying for their transportation.⁶⁹

Another relevant article was written by a Greek-Cypriot mother, Eleni Daskalaki, complaining about the fact that Greek-Cypriot parents have to register their children in schools with large numbers of Greek-Pontian pupils. Here, we see this mother attributing to the children of a Greek-Pontian background the characteristic of low academic achievement, which, as she claims, holds back Greek-Cypriot children's progress.

“Most of us [parents] express sympathy for these families [Greek-Pontian families], but become sceptics when the time comes for our children to go to school, because we discover that in the same class there are students that belong to these minorities (...) Certainly, when we think immigrant children, classmates from France or England do not come to our mind... Our concerns are caused when in the school classroom there are children from Eastern Europe and so on. However, most parents identify the problem not on the origin of students, but on the difference on the performances of students, which “hold back” the rest of the class.” (Epikairoites, Wednesday 15 October 2003: 8)

There is, of course, likely to be further complexity regarding this hierarchy, but I would contend that in terms of its underpinning main ethnic tiers described earlier this is how it works. At the peak of this ethnic ladder, there is the Greek-Cypriot majority. Interestingly, Greek-Cypriots from ethnically mixed marriages occupy a distinct place in the ethnic hierarchy, for they are considered to be in a rank position lower than ‘clean Cypriots’ but still higher than immigrants. Examining the perceptions of Greek-Cypriot primary school teachers with regard to the integration of immigrant pupils, Theodorou (2011a: 508) claims that:

⁶⁹ These attitudes are not unique to the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. Similarly, there was official ‘bussing’ of South Asian students in the UK in the early 1970s (see Shain, 2013; Tomlinson, 2008).

“The importance that demarcating group boundaries carries in the Greek-Cypriot context is further evidenced in the phrase ‘clean Cypriots’ (καθαροί Κύπριοι), which was used by teachers when referring to students whose parents were both Greek-Cypriot as opposed to those children of ethnically mixed marriages between a Greek-Cypriot and a foreigner. The adjective ‘clean’ alludes to a particular notion of ethnic authenticity, undamaged by foreign ‘dirty’ influences, and traceable through the blood lineage of a homogeneous Greek-Cypriot peoplehood. Hence, in comparison to ‘clean Cypriots’, Greek-Cypriot children of ethnically mixed marriages occupy a different position in the status hierarchy, albeit still higher than that of the ‘foreign’ immigrant children”.

To sum up, the next rank position, just below Greek-Cypriots, is occupied by the Western Europeans. Eastern Europeans, darker skinned third world people and Greek-Pontians occupy lower positions within the ethnic hierarchy. Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (n.d.: 1) employ the label ‘subaltern migrants’ to refer to immigrants in the low positions of the ethnic hierarchy. As they explicate:

“As things stand today in Cyprus, following the de facto division of the island in 1974, the main recipients of racial abuse, violence and discrimination, in other words the victims of racism, are what we call ‘subaltern migrants’ (i.e. migrant workers from South East Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe). Additionally, the Turkish-Cypriots residing in the territory controlled by the Republic of Cyprus (i.e. Greek-Cypriot controlled) as well as the Greek-Cypriots residing in the occupied north of the island (i.e. Turkish-Cypriot controlled) are discriminated against, even though they are all Cypriots” (ibid.).

So far, I have explained how certain types of immigrants are being ranked ethnically and regarded differently in Greek-Cypriot society. Nevertheless, there is not only an ethnic hierarchy, alongside this, there is also a linguistic one, in which certain languages are valued more highly than others. This ranking of value of ‘the others’, which is based on their ethnic and linguistic background, is not exceptional. When there is an ethnic hierarchy discussion going on in society, language is very often

attached to it. The issue of the inferiority and superiority of specific languages in the world is a widely addressed theme in the sociolinguistics literature. According to Shannon (1999: 172):

“Language hegemony (...) can be described as a form of dominance of one language over another. The pattern is quite general; it refers to a macro-social context of languages in competition, and more specifically to the ways in which a society generally ranks the status of the languages spoken within it. Wherever more than one language or language variety exist together, their status in relationship to one another is often asymmetric. One will be perceived as superior, desirable, and necessary, while the other is seen as inferior, undesirable, and extraneous” (see also Shannon, 1995: 176).

Language ideologies are considered to be multiple within a population (Kroskrity, 2004). Some of them have become ‘dominant’ (Kroskrity, 2004) and the majority of the members of the group have successfully ‘naturalised’ them (Bourdieu, 1977: 164). In order to get a clearer understanding of language ideologies, Blommaert (1999: 32) draws attention to the historical processes by which they are articulated and formed. Kroskrity (2004: 505) writes that “members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies”. As he suggests, there is “a correlational relationship between high levels of discursive consciousness and active, salient contestation of ideologies and by contrast, the correlation of practical consciousness with relatively unchallenged, highly naturalised, and definitively dominant ideologies” (ibid.).

Therefore, it is necessary to gather and provide evidence concerning the ideas about certain languages in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. Regarding the linguistic hierarchy, it consists of four ranks summarised in table 7.2 and I am now going to focus on them in turn.

Table 7.2: Linguistic Hierarchy

Category	Language(s)
Category 1	Greek, English, French, Italian, Spanish and German
Category 2	Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian
Category 3	Farsi, Tagalog, Tamil, Sinhala, Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Arabic
Category 4	Pontic dialect

Category 1: Greek⁷⁰, English, French, Italian, Spanish and German

In the ethnic hierarchy, category 1 is occupied by White Western Europeans who have the highest status in the prevailing discourse in the Greek-Cypriot community. Alongside this category, their languages are also placed high up. So, English, French, Italian, Spanish and German are positioned at the apex of the linguistic hierarchy, being regarded as of almost the same worthiness as Greek.

In the sociolinguistics field, scholars have stressed the global domination of European languages. For example, Weber (1999), ranking the world's top 'influential' languages, described the exponential growth of the English language, followed by quite some margin by French and Spanish. Russian, Arabic and Chinese are some of the languages occupying the next ranking positions. In arriving at this conclusion, he counted the "number of primary speakers", "number of secondary speakers", "number and population of countries using the language", "number of major fields using the language internationally", "economic power of countries using the language" and "socioliterary prestige" (ibid.: 22). Looking at language ideologies in Canada, Heller argues that:

"The economic and political power of English-speakers has also contributed to the prestige of their language and the high status accorded to their way of doing things. These forms of symbolic capital have been deeply embedded in relations of dominance in Canadian society" (1994: 11).

⁷⁰ It is notable that the Hellenocentric ideology embracing the linguistic hierarchy with Greek at the top conveniently ignores the existence of GCD as the Greek-Cypriot home variety and actually places SMG at the top (see section 1.2).

The influence of the global domination of European languages is reflected in Greek-Cypriot society as well as its educational system. Looking at specific information about what languages are taught in schools, it is very easy to learn English, French, and to a smaller degree German, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Turkish⁷¹, but it is not so with Bulgarian, Romanian, Farsi, Tagalog, Tamil and Sinhala. All the delivered courses have been provided as component of the Modern Foreign Language (MFL) curriculum in Greek-Cypriot secondary schools. They are offered in the last two years of secondary schooling and are delivered two times a week for 45 minutes. English and French are the two compulsory MFL courses, which are provided for the first four years of secondary schooling. In the fifth year of secondary schooling, students are expected to select two foreign languages among the abovementioned preferred list⁷² (Charalambous, 2009a). Also, English is a compulsory MFL course in pre-primary and primary education⁷³.

According to statistics released by the MEC in 2012⁷⁴, there were 25,512 students in Greek-Cypriot secondary schools during the school year 2010-2011 attending English-language courses. 10,866 pupils were attending French-language ones and 8,669 pupils were attending Italian-language ones. Fewer children were going to Spanish-language (4,940), German-language (1,476), Turkish-language (1,213) and Russian-language courses (999) courses.

As Weber (1999: 26) reports, “there is an overwhelming interest in learning English practically everywhere in the world”. In fact, closer scrutiny of the statistics on MFL courses, reveal that English is the first choice of students, followed after a big gap by French and Italian. It is also notable that significantly fewer children choose to attend

⁷¹ Turkish-language classes in Greek-Cypriot secondary education are an initiative begun by the MEC in 2003. According to Charalambous (2009a: 132), this can be viewed as a “political gesture, which was the demonstration of the Government’s commitment to rapprochement and reconciliation” of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities.

⁷² From *Modern Foreign Language curriculum*, Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture (http://www.moec.gov.cy/analytika_programmata/nea-analytika-programmata/xenes_glosses_gymnasio_lykeio.pdf, accessed on 16/8/2014).

⁷³ From *Modern Foreign Language curriculum*, Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture (http://www.moec.gov.cy/analytika_programmata/nea-analytika-programmata/anglika_dimotiko.pdf, accessed on 16/8/2014).

⁷⁴ From *Education Statistics 2010-2011*, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (<http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf>, accessed on 14/8/2014).

German, Russian and Turkish instruction. This may be because German is considered to be “a difficult language to learn” (Weber, 1999: 27), while Russian and Turkish have a lower status than English, French, Italian and Spanish in the Greek-Cypriot community. The fact that the majority of MFL subjects offered have been Western European languages as well as most of the students choosing to attend English, French, Italian and Spanish courses are markers of the high status being given to these languages in Greek-Cypriot society.

Category 2: Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian

In the ethnic category, the second rank is occupied by White Christian Eastern European languages (e.g. Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian etc). They are not regarded as having high status like English and French, which is evidenced by the reality that these languages, apart from Russian, are not taught in schools. Also, Greek-Cypriots do not tend to show much interest in learning them. However, in recent years immigrants from Russia have been increasing their presence in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, in particular, by using Greek-Cypriot banks and through tourism, thereby helping to improve the economy. In fact, nowadays it is quite common to see signs in Russian as well as Greek and English. Also, Russian are being increasingly taught in schools. As a consequence of their positive contribution to the economic fortunes of the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, those who have chosen to live there are being viewed in a more positive light and could soon move up to the top rung of the hierarchy.

Category 3: Farsi, Tagalog, Tamil, Sinhala, Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Arabic

The languages associated with darker skinned people around the world (Farsi, Tagalog, Tamil, Sinhala, Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali etc) occupy the third rank of the linguistic hierarchy. They are seen as having lower status than European languages. In the sociolinguistics field, scholars have emphasised the global domination of European languages over non-European, especially in studies on European colonialism. Examining the cases of Macedonia and Senegal, Irvine and Gal (2000: 73) revealed that:

“Europe created itself in opposition to a broadly defined “East” that often included not only Asia but also Africa. That “East” also found parallels

elsewhere in the world, even within Europe itself, where a similar axis of opposition distinguished metropolitan centres of “higher” civilisation from their “lower”, especially their eastern peripheries (...) Arguments about language were central in producing and buttressing European claims to difference from the rest of the world, as well as claims to the superiority of the metropolitan bourgeoisie over “backward” or “primitive” Others”.

As Kroskrity (2004: 502) explains:

“[Irvine’s and Gal’s] several case studies revealed different kinds of interests, ranging from a relatively unconscious colonial importation of European models of language (and of identity) to a more strategic representation of the subject of non-Europeans as inferior Others, to outright politically motivated linguistic gerrymandering used as justification for redrawing national boundaries”.

All these discourses about the superiority of European languages and the inferiority of non-European ones are mirrored in Greek-Cypriots’ negative attitudes towards the languages associated with darker skinned third world people.

Category 4: Pontic dialect

Finally, at the bottom, there is the language of the Greek-Pontians: Pontic. As explicated earlier, the people of this Greek ethnic group originate from around the Black Sea. In the start of the twentieth century, they migrated from the Ottoman Empire into Greece or Russian-controlled areas. Most who moved to the Soviet Union were concentrated primarily in Georgia, but they also went to southern Russia and the area of the Caucasus. When the USSR began to collapse, many made their way to Greece as well as to Cyprus (as already elucidated in subsection 1.3.1).

According to Mackridge (1991: 336), “a large number of ethnic Greeks in the Soviet Union have completely lost their knowledge of [Pontic] over the generations” and adopted Russian or Georgian, whereas “Pontians who still speak their [Pontic] dialect (...) are now living in the Soviet Union or in Greece” (ibid.). Pontic is a modern Greek dialect, even though far removed from SMG (ibid.). Linguist Mackridge, who

has studied extensively the Pontic dialect, explains that it has preserved features in vocabulary and grammar from the Greek language spoken during medieval times, but also has influences from Turkish and Russian:

“it was natural that Pontic should have been influenced by the dominant languages that were spoken in the same area, particularly Turkish. As the language of the administration under the Ottoman Empire, and as the language spoken by a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Pontos, Turkish has had a profound influence on Pontic, particularly in the realm of vocabulary, which though a superficial level from the point of view of linguistics is perhaps the area that is most striking to the layperson. But Turkish has also left its mark at deeper levels, in idioms and even in syntax, though not in the most basic and systematic areas of phonology and morphology. In addition, ever since Pontians have moved into Russian-speaking areas, their language has acquired a large number of Russian words, particularly abstract expressions and terms related to technology, politics, and the administration” (ibid.: 338; see also Mariou, 2010; Voutira, 2013).

The fact that the Pontic language of the Greek-Pontians has been influenced by the Turkish language has been employed in Greek-Cypriot society in order to ascribe the members of this group “an ‘otherness’ derived from their being associated with the Turkish ‘enemy’” (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013: 364-365).

My perspective on the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies at play in Greek-Cypriot society is reflected in comments made by a teacher (Mrs A) who took part in my study.

Extract 7.1

- 1 **Mrs A:** είμαστε ρατσιστές τζιαι που ποιαν άποψην ας
πούμεν(.)
let's say we are racist in the sense that (.)
- 2 υπάρχει τζιαι η νοοτροπία του... (.)
there is the tradition that... (.)
- 3 εν άλλου είδους ξένος ο Γάλλος ο Άγγλος ο
Γερμανό...ς(.)
it is a different type of foreigner the French the
English the German... (.)
- 4 εν ά...λλος ο Πολωνός ο Ρουμάνος ο Βούλγαρος (.)

it is different the Poland the Romanian the
 Bulgarian(.)
 5 **τζι εν άλλος ας πούμεν** ο Ιρανός ο... (.)
and it is different let's say the Iranian the... (.)
 (...)
 6 ο Κούρδος (.)
 the Kurdish (.)
 7 **τζιαι** άλλος ο Πόντιος (.)
and different the Pontian (.)
 8 **εν** κατηγορίες
they are in categories
 (Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

In this extract, Mrs A argues that, amongst the members of the Greek-Cypriot community, there is the long tradition of ethnically evaluating foreigners. According to this evaluation by ethnicity, on the top there is the category of French, English and Germans (line 3). Then, come the Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians (line 4). After that, there is the category of Iranians and Kurds (lines 5-6). At the bottom there are the Greek-Pontians (line 7).

7.2 The influence of the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies on students

the following way: I have the data I collected from interviews, observations, fieldnotes and recordings with the children supported by my ethnographic Greek-Cypriot insider's knowledge and claims made by other researchers.

7.2.1 Lazaros

Lazaros was a boy with a Greek-Pontian background and thus came from the bottom category in the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies. He was fluent in GCD, but was poor in SMG literacy and had low academic attainment, thus being quite similar to a lot of other Greek-Cypriot children. I believe he was in a parallel intensive Greek language class because he belonged to an unfavoured and disadvantaged ethnic group. As explained above, there is a common discourse about Greek-Pontians in Greek-Cypriot society, which focuses on their criminal behaviour, low levels of academic achievement at school and dropping out early. The members of this ethnic group are seen as having all these negative qualities as a whole.

While doing my fieldwork, I realised that Lazaros was under pressure because of his ethnicity. The pressure was coming from his teachers, his Greek-Cypriot classmates and his GAL peers, who employed negative discourses regarding Greek-Pontians focusing on low levels of academic achievement at school and criminal behaviour. For example, Samira and Andrei, in the excerpt that follows from a GAL lesson, criticise Lazaros about his academic work. Samira says to him he is incapable of reading, and then Andrei says he is not even good in simple mathematics. It is notable that Lazaros, who is fluent in GCD and has close affiliations with the Greek-Cypriot majority, has actually been targeted as being problematic in the academic field by his GAL peers, who are not as fluent in GCD. I think that this happens because of the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies at play. Andrei, a boy of Bulgarian descent, coming from category 2, and Samira, a girl of Iranian descent, coming from category 3, have negative attitudes towards Lazaros who comes from the bottom category.

Extract 7.2

Fieldnotes: Class A, 22/2/2011: The lesson takes place in Mrs A's mainstream classroom. At some point, a Greek-Cypriot mother, who came to discuss with Mrs A about her child's school development, interrupts the lesson. Mrs A asks the GAL children (Samira, Lazaros and Andrei) to create their own restaurant menus in their textbooks and leaves the classroom with the Greek-Cypriot mother. At this stage, the GAL students start talking to each-other and to me.

- Samira:** Ούτε να διαβάζεις δε ξέρεις.
You can't even read ((Samira is talking to Lazaros.))
- Andrei:** Κυρία, αυτός ((απευθύνεται σε εμένα και δείχνει τον Λάζαρο)) ούτε 2 πλην 1 δεν ξέρει πόσα είναι. Ούτε πόσα κάνουν 2 και 1 δεν ξέρει.
Miss ((Andrei is talking to me)), he ((Lazaros)) does not even know how much are two minus one. He does not even know how much are two plus one.

In addition, from my ethnographic knowledge I realised that Lazaros's older brother, Neofitos, who was also a student in the school, had been accused of stealing and so the former had been bracketed with the latter. The reason this worked is because there was already a circulated negative discourse about Greek-Pontians as thieves in the Greek-Cypriot context. Therefore, they said Neofitos did it because he was Greek-Pontian and then ascribed this characteristic to all members of the group, including Lazaros.

In an interview with Mrs A, she confirmed the marginalisation of the two Greek-Pontian brothers in the school. Looking at the extract below, in line 1 we see her arguing that Lazaros is shunned by the rest of the students in the school, and in lines 2-3, she states that this is because of his brother, Neofitos, who is also stigmatised. In the following lines, Mrs A explains that Neofitos has been exhibiting problematic behaviour, that of stealing (lines 6-7), but at some point he has become the usual suspect (lines 12-13) and is the first to be blamed for whatever bad was happening in the school (lines 9-11, 14). As she states, Neofitos has been stigmatised by the teachers as well as pupils in the school (lines 10 and 15-6). As we see in this extract, Lazaros has been singled out by his teachers and the rest of the students in the school, because of his brother's problematic behaviour. In other words, all in the category of Greek-Pontians were blamed as being the same and having the same negative traits.

Extract 7.3

- 1 **Mrs A:** νομίζω εν ίσως λίγο αποκλεισμένος ο Λάζαρος
I think Lazaros may be a little excluded
(...)

2 ίσως διότι **τζιαι** ο αδερφός του... (.) ε... (.)
 maybe because his brother... (.) e... (.)
 3 **εστιγματίστηκεν μες το σχολείο**
has been stigmatised in the school
 (...)
 4 **έκαμεν** διάφορα (.)
he did a lot (.)
 5 αλλά... **έφτασεν** σ' ένα σημείο που (.)
 but... **he reached** a point that (.)
 6 μνι **είμαστεν** ενενήντα τις εκατό σίγουροι (.)
we are ninety per cent sure (.)
 7 ότι **έκλεφκεν** πράματα (2)
 that **he was stealing things** (2)
 8 αλλά **ποιζί τζιαι τζι** (.)
 but **from that point forward** (.)
 9 ότι **εσυνέβαινε** (.)
 whatever **was happening** (.)
 10 η προηγούμενη διευθύνη (.)
 the previous head-teacher (.)
 11 **εκατηγορούσεν τον** απευθείας
was blaming him straightaway
 (...)
 12 **έγινεν το μωρόν ας πούμεν...**
let's say the child had become...
 (...)
 13 ο usual suspect **ας πούμεν** (.)
 the usual suspect let's say (.)
 14 **ότι εγίνετουν έφταιεν έφταιεν έφταιεν**
whatever was happening it was his fault his fault his
fault
 (...)
 15 τα μωρά... **μες το** σχολείο μας έχουν **τούνη** τάση (2)
 the children... **in** our school have **this** tendency (2)
 16 να στιγματίζουν **τζιαι** να το κρατούν **ας πούμεν τούντο**
πράμαν
 to stigmatise **and** to hold it **let's say this thing**
 (Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

From my observations in the schoolyard, I found out that Lazaros was not interacting or mixing with the mainstream Greek-Cypriot students, but was only playing with his older brother, Neofitos (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 5/4/2011, 7/4/2011). They were both being ostracised by the rest of the students in the school. His peers in the GAL class also shunned Lazaros. On one occasion, I saw Samira and Andrei changing where they were sitting before the GAL lesson began in order to not sit next to Lazaros (fieldnotes, class A, 22/2/2011). This is what Lazaros said during a discussion session with the whole class:

Extract 7.4

Discussion session with whole class: Computer room, 10/5/2011: I am sitting around a round table with the three GAL pupils from Class A (Lazaros, Samira and Andrei). We are talking about their experiences at Inner City Primary School. There is no one else in the room.

- 1 **Ioanna:** Νιώθεις καλά στο σχολείο σου; (.)
Do you feel good in your school? (.)
- 2 **Κάμνεις** παρέα με τους φίλους σου τους συμμαθητές σου;
Do you have friends?
(...)
- 3 **Lazaros:** Μόνο κάποιες φορές **εν** νιώθω καλά
only sometimes I **don't** feel good
- 4 **Ioanna:** Γιατί;
Why?
- 5 **Lazaros:** επειδή κοροϊδεύουν **με** (.)
Because they mock **me** (.)
- 6 **Τζιαι** λαλούν **τάχα** να **με** **δέρουν**
And say that they will hit me

Furthermore, in the parallel classes, he did not contribute or participate much. When there was general talk, Lazaros spoke extremely fluently in a mixture of GCD and SMG. However, I noticed that he was reluctant to contribute orally in academically oriented talk. Perhaps this can be explained by the following:

“[The Greek-Pontian children at the school] typically had a lower academic performance than their native peers, often having to endure in silence the mockery of their Greek-Cypriot peers regarding their abilities and skills in the Greek language. This may pose a plausible explanation for minority students’ lower classroom participation and reticence” (Theodorou and Symeou, 2013: 360-361).

It is notable that Lazaros heavily identified with Greek-Cypriot ethnicity. For instance, he participated in the Greek-Cypriot Easter custom of ‘labrajia’ (λαμπρατζιά); the lighting of fires outside of churches to symbolise the burning of Judas. However, his involvement is somewhat double edged for the following reason. This custom starts some days before with the collection of pieces of wood and the lighting of the ‘labrajia’ takes place on the night of Holy Saturday, which is the most important day of Easter, because it is believed that this is the day Jesus was resurrected. Nowadays, the ritual has become associated with delinquency, because young people get into groups and try to collect the largest quantity of wood so as to make the biggest ‘labrajia’, which often results in acts of violence between the groups that sometimes require police involvement. Sometimes the fires are so big that they need the involvement of the fire brigade to extinguish them. Many articles can be

found in the Greek-Cypriot media that criticise the way the custom of ‘labrajia’ is performed today. Consequently, Lazaros’ participation, whilst demonstrating his adoption of a Greek-Cypriot tradition, indicates that he may well have been involved in a custom that is now frowned upon by many people. Having pointed out the effect of the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies on Lazaros, I now proceed to demonstrate their impact on Samira.

7.2.2 Samira

Samira was a girl of Iranian descent. She was brown skinned with Farsi in the family domain, and thus came from category 3 in the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies. As a consequence of her association with an ethnic group in the third rank, she was placed in a GAL class even though she was competent in GCD and her SMG was not significantly different from other Greek-Cypriot students.

While doing my fieldwork, I realised that Samira suffered ridicule because of small linguistic errors that were picked upon by her peers. She complained of being teased about the way she spoke by her Greek-Cypriot classmates in mainstream classes. Even though she was speaking coherently and everybody understood her, they laughed at her when she produced little errors. The consequence of all these is that she felt anxious and unsettled. Again, I believe this is because she was associated with a low status ethnic group towards which there is hostility by Greek-Cypriot society.

Όταν θέλω να ρωτήσω κάτι τζιαι λαλώ λάθος, αρχίζουν τζιαι κοροϊδεύουν με.

*When I want to ask something {during the mainstream lessons} and I say it wrong {when she makes mistakes in Greek}, they start **mocking me***

(Samira, recorded discussion session with whole class, 10/5/2011)

Also on one occasion I saw Samira crying outside of her mainstream class because her classmates did not want to be friends with her (an excerpt from fieldnotes in Greek documenting this incident can be found in appendix 8, see page 322).

The withdrawal language lesson started late because Samira was outside the classroom crying, while Mrs A struggled to calm her down. Mrs A told me that the

reason she had been upset was the fact that the girls in her mainstream class did not want to be friends with her (extract from fieldnotes, 15/3/2011).

On another occasion, these particular girls in Samira's mainstream class accused her of stealing my pencil.

I had previously given my pencil to Samira as a gift. Today, I observed a lesson in her mainstream class. Before the lesson, some of the mainstream girls came and asked me if she had stolen it from me because they did not believe her when she told them that I gave it to her (extract from fieldnotes, 21/3/2011).

In the next excerpt that derives from a lesson on Orthodox Christian Easter, we see Samira trying to show that she is part of Greek-Cypriot religious practices. She is talking about Greek-Orthodox Easter traditions using the first person plural (lines 4, 7, 13 and 20).

Extract 7.5

Class A: Recorded lesson on Orthodox-Christian Easter, 12/4/2011.

- 1 **Mrs A:** τι κάμνουμε το Πάσχα;
what are we doing for Easter?
(...)
- 2 **Samira:** κυρία κυρία κυρία κυρία
miss miss miss miss
(...)
- 3 **Mrs A:** πε μου να δούμεν
tell me
- 4 **Samira:** ε... πηαίνουμε στη λαμπρατζιά
e... we go to labrajia
(...)
- 5 βάφουμε τ' αυγά
we dye the eggs
- 6 **Mrs A:** τι χρώμα;
what color?
- 7 **Samira:** κόκκινα
red
- 8 **Mrs A:** μπράβο
well done
- 9 **Samira:** τζιαι... (...) πηαίνουμε εκκλησία
and... (...) we go {to the} church
(...)
- 10 τη Μεγάλη Δευτέρα τη Μεγάλη Τρίτη (.)
on Holy Monday on Holy Tuesday (.)
- 11 [το Μεγάλο Σάββατο (.)] [Σάββατο
[on Holy Saturday (.)] Saturday
- 12 **Andrei:** [τη Μεγάλη Τετάρτη
[on Holy Wednesday
- 13 **Mrs A:** όλην τη Μεγάλη Βδομάδα
all Holy Week
- 14 **Samira:** ναι (.) πηαίνουμεν εκκλησία
yes (.) we go {to the} church

In addition to Samira identifying with Greek-Cypriot religious traditions, as seen in the extract above, Mrs A stated in an interview that Samira has a negative attitude towards her country.

Έσκει πολλά αρνητικήν στάσην προς την πατρίδαν της. Επεράσαν... πρέπει να περάσαν πολλά δύσκολα (...) Ε... τζι είχαν μιαν πάρα πολλά αρνητικήν στάσην προς την πατρίδαν τους. Μντ πιθανότατα, απ' ότι ακούω τζιαι... τζιαι τι είσιεν πει η ((όνομα)), (...) η μάμα πρέπει να πέρασεν πολλά δύσκολα που τον πατέρα. Απ' ότι φαίνεται εχτυπούσεν την (...) Έννεν καλές οι εμπειρίες της. Έφνεν μιτσιά που την Περσία...

She has a very negative attitude towards her country. They must have been through a lot of difficulties ((Samira and her sisters)) (...) E... and they have a very negative attitude towards their country. M maybe because as I heard and... and from what Samira said (...) her mother must have been through a lot of difficulties because of the father ((her husband)). It looks like he was hitting her (...) Her experiences {from her country} are not nice. She left Iran when she was little.

(Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

To sum up, Samira, a girl of Iranian background, came from category 3 in the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies. I believe this is the reason why she was placed in a GAL class despite the fact that she was already competent in GCD and her SMG was not significantly different from other Greek-Cypriot children. She was suffering ridicule because of small linguistic errors that were picked up by her peers. She identified with Greek-Cypriot religious practices. Having explained the consequences of the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies on Samira, I now proceed to describe their consequences on Andrei.

7.2.3 Andrei

Andrei was a boy of Bulgarian descent with Bulgarian in the family domain but also had English language proficiency. Therefore, he was between the first and second category in the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies. Andrei, contrary to Samira who came from the third category, did not suffer ridicule because of his linguistic errors, even though he was not fluent and sometimes was difficult to understand when he tried to speak Greek. During the school breaks I observed in the schoolyard, I found out that he was well connected with his Greek-Cypriot classmates, especially when they were playing football (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 21/3/2011).

Mrs A perceived him as a high achieving student. In an interview, she described him in the following terms: a rapid learner, maybe talented in learning languages, making fantastic progress, but needs more practice in speaking Greek and help with learning to speak Greek more fluently.

Θέλω να μάθει να μιλά πιο... να τζυλά παραπάνω η γλώσσα του. Εβελτιώθηκε πάρα πολλά. Στην αρχήν του χρόνου εν ήξερεν τίποτε (...) Μιλώ σου πιάνει τα πάρα πολλά τζιαι φαίνεται τζιαι που τ' αγγλικά του (...) Νομίζω... έσει τζιαι μωρά που έχουν... έχουν καλόν αυτίν ας το πούμε τζιαι ο ((όνομα)) νομίζω εν έναν που τούντα μωρά.

*I want him to learn to talk **more... fluently**. He **has improved** very **much**. At the **beginning** of the year **he didn't know** anything (...) **I'm telling you he is catching things very well** ((learning Greek)) and with English (...) I think... **there are** children who have... this ability to learn a language more easily **and** I believe Andrei **is one of these** children.*

(Mrs A, recorded interview, 20/4/2011)

While doing my fieldwork, I realised that in GAL classes Andrei's behaviour seemed to be antagonistic towards Samira and Lazaros. I believe he felt that by being in such a class he was labelled as a low achieving student, since both Samira and Lazaros were middle to low or low academic achievers. My interpretation of his behaviour is that he did not feel his level of academic proficiency was limited and so he resented being labelled as such by acting antagonistically towards his GAL peers. For instance, in the following extract from a GAL lesson on teaching the past tense, Andrei tells Samira she is wrong. In line 7, the teacher asks the question: 'for something we are doing now we use?'. She is looking for the answer 'present tense'. In the next line (line 8), we see Samira giving the answer 'e... genitive'. We then see Andrei not answering to Mrs A's question, but instead responding to Samira criticising her for her wrong answers. In line 9 he goes 'no' and later in line 14 he goes 'not genitive'. He seems to know that genitive is not the right term, but at the same time we cannot say that he knows what is correct since he does not offer it up.

Extract 7.6

Class A, 3/5/2011 (recorded lesson).

- 1 **Mrs A:** για να μιλήσουμε για κάτι που (.) **εκάμαμεν** και **επέρασε**
to talk about something that (.) **we did** and **it passed**
- 2 **Samira:** ναι
yes
- 3 **Mrs A:** **χρησιμοποιούμεν** [διαφορετικά το ρήμα
we use the verb in a different way

4 **Samira:** [αόριστος
[past simple

5 **Mrs A:** =μπράβο
=bravo

6 =από ότι για κάτι που **κάνουμεν** τώρα (.)
=than when {we use the verb to talk} about something that
we are doing now

7 για κάτι που κάνω τώρα χρησιμοποιώ τον;
for something that I am doing now I use?

8 **Samira:** ε... γενικό;
e... genitive?

9 **Andrei:** [όι
[no

10 **Mrs A:** [εν...;
[pre...?

11 **Samira:** εν...ικό
si...ngular

12 **Mrs A:** ενεστώτα!
present tense!

13 **Samira:** * ωαία *
* nice *

14 **Andrei:** * όι γενικό *
* **not** genitive * ((he is whispering to Samira))

The extract below provides another example of Andrei's antagonistic behaviour towards Samira. This extract is taken from the discussion session I had with the GAL students. In lines 1-2 and 4-5, Samira admits that she is not doing well with the Greek-Cypriot students in her mainstream class, because they are mocking her every time she makes mistakes in spoken Greek during the lessons. As she also states in lines 15-16, her Greek-Cypriot peers say that she does not know how to speak Greek, they repeat her mistakes and laugh at her. In lines 10 and 17, Lazaros agrees with her. However, Andrei, in line 3, tells her she is wrong ('no, they do not mock'). Also, he implies it is no wonder people laugh at her because she makes so many mistakes (lines 11-12). By doing so, Andrei is elevating himself to an academically superior position. I believe that the ethnic and linguistic grading at play and the fact that he comes from a higher category than Samira are the reasons why he acts in this way. He sees himself like this and the wider society sees him in this way too. His antagonistic behaviour comes out as a result of this.

Extract 7.7

Discussion session with whole class: Computer room, 10/5/2011.

1 **Samira:** κυρία μάς κοροϊδεύουν όταν (.)
miss they {their Greek-Cypriot classmates} mock us
{the GAL children} when (.)

2 κυρία εμάς τα παιδιά
miss us the children

3 **Andrei:** =όι εν κοροϊδεύουν

- =no they **do not** mock
- 4 **Samira:** ε... **εν τα πηαίνουμε** καλά επειδή ε... (.)
e... **we are not doing** well {with them} because
e... (.)
- 5 επειδή **τάχα** όταν θέλω να ρωτήσω κάτι **τζιαι λαλώ**
λάθος αρχίζουν **τζιαι κοροϊδεύουν με**
because when I want to ask something {during the
mainstream lessons} **and I say** wrong {when she makes
mistakes in Greek} they start **mocking me**
- 6 **Ioanna:** κοροϊδεύουν; (.)
they mock? (.)
- 7 όλους σας σας κοροϊδεύουν;
do they mock all of you?
- 8 **Andrei:** και 'συ (.)
and you (.)
- 9 [θες
[you want {them to mock you}
- 10 **Lazaros:** [ναι κυρία
[yes miss {he agrees with Samira}
- 11 **Andrei:** ε... **λαλείς κάτσι**⁷⁵ **πράματα** (.)
e... **you are saying some things** (.)
- 12 **πώς να μεν** κοροϊδεύουν;
how can they **not** mock?
- 13 **Ioanna:** πώς σας κοροϊδεύουν; (.)
how do they mock you? (.)
- 14 τι σας λένε δηλαδή;
what do they tell you?
- 15 **Samira:** **λαλούν μας τάχα ότι εν** ξέρουμε να μιλούμε (.)
they are saying that we do **not** know how to speak (.)
- 16 **τζιαι λαλούν τζιαι ό,τι λαλούμε τζιαι γελούν**
and they are also saying what we say and laugh at us
- 17 **Lazaros:** ναι κυρία
yes miss

Being higher up, between categories 1 and 2, in the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies than Samira in category 3 and Lazaros in 4, allows for him to distinguish himself from his classmates. That is, in the excerpt above he asserts his right to be in top category by othering Samira. This action is demonstrated when he says to Samira ‘you want {them to mock you}’ (line 8-9) and ‘you are saying some things, how can they not mock’ (lines 11-12). Even though his spoken Greek was weaker than his two peers, his more acceptable ethnic status in the eyes of the majority population led to him having a sense of superiority over them. It is notable that, during an English lesson I observed in children’s mainstream class, Andrei was very willing to contribute and did so even without being granted the teacher’s permission (fieldnotes, observed lesson, 3/5/2011). It seems to me that he was trying to display his high level of English language proficiency.

⁷⁵ In Greek this word should be ‘kati’ ([κάτι] something) but Andrei said it with an extra letter ‘s’, that is ‘katsi’.

In general, from the analysis of the two previous extracts, it emerges that the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies are played out within GAL classes amongst immigrant pupils. That is, these data provide evidence that evaluations regarding ethnicity are so powerful that they are even not avoided by withdrawn children, when it might be expected that they would show some solidarity with each other for being singled out as needing SMG help. Similarly, Theodorou (2011b: 243), in her ethnographic study examining processes of othering of migrant students by their migrant classmates, states that:

“[Greek-Pontian children] engaged in racial and ethnic stereotyping against their immigrant classmates and constructed Self and Other in an effort to compete for higher social status within the interethnic hierarchy at the school”.

Being associated with a language and ethnicity other than Greek or Greek-Cypriot caused some GAL students in Inner City Primary School to suffer teasing by the majority Greek-Cypriot students. Perhaps this explains why Andrei did not like being withdrawn from his mainstream class in order to attend the parallel lessons.

Extract 7.8

Discussion session with whole class: Computer room, 10/5/2011.

- 1 **Ioanna:** **πειράζει σας** που φεύγετε που την τάξη σας και έρχεστε εδώ να κάμετε μάθημα με την κυρία ((όνομα)); (.)
do you mind leaving your mainstream class to come here and have lessons with Mrs A? (.)
- 2 νιώθετε ότι χάνετε το μάθημά σας;
do you feel you miss the lesson?
- 3 **Andrei:** ναι ναι ναι...
yesssss...
- 4 **Ioanna:** **πειράζει σας;**
do you mind?
(...)
- 5 **Andrei:** ναι (.) ναι
yes (.) yes
- 6 Κυρία εχτές έχασα... (.) πριν (.)
Miss yesterday I missed... {the lesson} (.)
- 7 και μετά **εν ήξερα ίντα που να κάμω** στο βιβλίο (.)
and then **I didn't know what I had to do** in the book (.)
- 8 περιμένω να βλέπω (.) κι άλλα
I had to wait to see

Moreover, I saw Andrei complaining to Mrs A during a GAL lesson that he was missing maths from his mainstream class, a lesson that he liked:

I am sitting in the computer room where the GAL lesson is going to take place. Mrs A went to the mainstream class of the children to tell them to come. They are all coming back. Andrei seems he doesn't want to have a GAL lesson. I listen to him complaining to Mrs A that he is missing out on maths in his mainstream class, a lesson that he likes. Mrs A tells him they will finish earlier so he can go back to his maths lesson (extract from fieldnotes, 21/3/2011).

In summary, Andrei, as a boy of Bulgarian descent with proficiency in Bulgarian and English, was placed between categories 1 and 2. He was well connected with his Greek-Cypriot peers and did not seem to suffer ridicule due to his linguistic errors when he spoke in Greek. His teacher perceived him as a high achieving multilingual student. He felt academically superior to his GAL classmates placed in categories below him in the hierarchies and displayed antagonistic behaviour towards them. Even though he needed GAL support, he did not want to miss his mainstream lessons in order to attend parallel Greek language lessons. The question then arising is: What happens with high achieving multilingual students? Would 'content-language model', that is teaching content and academic language together within the mainstream curriculum (Leung, 2007; Snow et al., 1992), be more suitable to accommodate their educational needs? Having talked about the consequences of the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies on Andrei, I now proceed to demonstrate their consequences for Nina.

7.2.4 Nina

So far, I have referred to students attending Inner City Primary School. In this subsection I talk about Nina who was attending a parallel Greek language class in Outer City Primary School. Nina was a girl of Romanian and Greek-Cypriot descent: her mother was Romanian and her father was Greek-Cypriot. As already explicated, Greek-Cypriots from ethnically mixed marriages occupy another place in the ethnic hierarchy. That is, they are considered to be in a rank position lower than 'clean Cypriots' but still higher than immigrants. Nina was a fluent speaker of a mixture of SMG and GCD. From my fieldwork I realised that she was a middle level achieving student, but she was very shy and did not participate much orally in class (fieldnotes, observed lesson 14/3/2011, recorded lesson, 4/5/2011). Nonetheless, she had still been placed in a parallel Greek language class. During the school breaks that I observed in the schoolyard, I found out that she was not isolated but had friends and was well connected with her peers (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 13/4/2011, 14/4/2011).

Talking with the head-teacher in Outer City Primary School about the school decision to put this particular student in a parallel class, she explained that Nina was very shy and wanted to offer her additional support in a smaller group than the mainstream class (fieldnotes, discussion with head-teacher, 16/4/2011). The questions then arising are: Would Nina be offered this kind of support outside the mainstream classroom if she was a ‘clean Greek-Cypriot’ or had an English/German/French mother? Is shyness a reason for needing GAL support? What happens with ‘clean Greek-Cypriot’ students who are also shy? Although the culture of Outer City Primary School was sympathetic and inclusive towards GAL children (this is be discussed in section 7.3) and as the head-teacher said the decision was made to help Nina, she was still separated from her mainstream class and marginalised. That is, Nina was categorised as a GAL pupil just because she had an immigrant parent without taking into account her actual educational needs.

To summarize the arguments so far, in the previous chapter, I came to the conclusion that almost all my focal children were placed in GAL classes when they already spoke Greek like other Greek-Cypriot children. The question then arose as to why they were misplaced. I believe this happened because of the Hellenocentric anti-immigrant discourses producing ethnic and linguistic hierarchies in Greek-Cypriot society and its educational system. These hierarchies influenced school decisions taken about GAL students to attend parallel classes and affected their school experiences. In what follows, I show that these hierarchies also influenced the wider culture of Inner City and Outer City primary schools.

7.3 The influence of the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies on school culture

In this section, I contend that there was an obvious difference between the Inner City and Outer City schools regarding the existing school cultures⁷⁶. The school staff in the

⁷⁶ For my analysis here, I employ one related notion – ‘culture’ of schools. This concept moves beyond individual aspects of school life and deals with unwritten rules and shared meanings among the members of the institution. According to Hoy and Miskel (2001: 431),

first school appeared to be holding on to the dominant Hellenocentric discourses of ethnicity and language and seemed to be uncomfortable with the new kind of diversity, thus trying to avoid or resist change. On the other hand, the school staff in the other school appeared to be responding to the new kind of ethnic and linguistic diversity evident in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus by trying to change the school culture in order to make a move towards interculturalism. My presence in the two schools for the period of five months (observing lessons, spending time in the schoolyard and in the staff room, participating in the school life, informally discussing with head-teachers, teachers and pupils, as well as interviewing head-teachers and teachers) gave me the opportunity to understand facets of the school culture as well as how they determined interpretation and enactment of the GAL policy. In what follows, I present evidence from my fieldwork, focusing first on Inner City Primary School and then on Outer City Primary School.

7.3.1 Inner City Primary School: Holding on to Hellenocentrism

In this section, I display data (observations, discussions, images) that reveal facets of the school culture. These appear to pertain to holding on to the dominant discourses of Hellenocentrism, and prevailing ethnic and linguistic hierarchies.

i) GAL students being isolated from Greek-Cypriot students

While doing my fieldwork in Inner City Primary School, I observed the GAL students during numerous school breaks in the yard. From this, I realised that most of the GAL students (five out of the seven pupils in Inner City who participated in this study) were not interacting or mixing with the mainstream Greek-Cypriot students, but rather, were being isolated from the other pupils in the school.

“Organisational culture is a set of shared orientations that hold a unit together and gives it a distinctive identity (...) culture is defined in terms of shared assumptions, values and norms. These three levels of culture – assumptions, values, and norms – are explored as alternative ways of describing and analysing schools”.

Along similar lines, Schein (1985: 6) considers ‘organizational culture’ to be “a pattern of shared basic assumptions – invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems”. The head-teachers as school leaders perform a key role in the transformation of the school culture through constructing shared visions (Sergiovanni, 1990: 31-32; Zembylas and Iasonos, 2010).

By adopting their notion, I use ‘school culture’ to refer to the assumptions, beliefs and values of the school staff in relation to their students from immigrant backgrounds.

Lazaros was walking around the schoolyard with his older brother, Neofitos. Neofitos is attending the sixth grade, whereas Lazaros is attending the fourth grade. I did not see any other children playing with them (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 5/4/2011).

Alina ((a girl of Polish background attending grade 6)) was playing with another girl of immigrant background in the schoolyard. I did not see any other children playing with them (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 3/5/2011).

During the break I saw Emma ((a girl of Romanian background attending grade 6)) on her own in the mainstream classroom (fieldnotes, break, 5/5/2011).

The above fieldnote observations are consistent with what I saw generally going on during the breaks and representative of the relationships between the children in Inner City school throughout my five months of fieldwork. These observations were also in tune with what Mrs A told me in an interview. More specifically, she stated that the Greek-Cypriot students in the school had a tendency to stigmatise and isolate the GAL students (recorded interview, 20/4/2011). My findings are similar to the findings of Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou's (2007) research. They carried out a case study in one Greek-Cypriot primary school with a high proportion of GAL students, and collected data by asking teachers to fill in a questionnaire as well as by conducting interviews with pupils and parents. They reported problems encountered by GAL students in relation to adjusting to the school, developing friendship with Greek-Cypriot children, and having to face verbal and/or psychological bullying from their Greek-Cypriot peers, who claimed superiority. The research indicated that these problems led to learning nervousness as well as exclusion by and estrangement from peers (ibid). Having explained the child-child relationships in Inner City Primary School, I will now provide evidence about how the head-teachers and the teachers in the school viewed the GAL students.

ii) Discomfort

The school staff in Inner City Primary School adopted negative stereotypes about the GAL students. They appeared suspicious towards these children and believed that they were more likely to develop problematic behaviour than the Greek-Cypriot pupils because of their different ethnic background. This arose from the interviews and informal discussions I had with the head-teacher and the teachers. The two

subsequent excerpts are notable examples coming from discussions I had with the head-teacher:

Extract 7.9

- 1 **Inner City head-teacher:** σκόπιμα κάποιες φορές (.)
intentionally sometimes (.)
2 όταν **εν** ζωηρά τα παιδιά (.)
when the {GAL} children **are**
energetic (.)
3 δεν τα βάζουμε μαζί (.)
we do not put them together {in the
same mainstream class}
4 γιατί δημιουργούν **κλίκα**
because they create a **clique**
(...)
5 μιλούν μεταξύ τους **τζιαι** μετά... (.)
they are talking to each other (in
their home languages) **and** then... (.)
6 δημιουργούν άλλα... (.)
they are creating other... (.)
7 κάνουν αταξίες
they are causing trouble
(recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

In this extract, the head-teacher expresses her opinion that energetic GAL children with the same home language tend to develop problematic behaviour when they are placed together in the same mainstream class. They start talking to each other in their home language, which results in their creating cliques as well as causing mischief (lines 4-7). The ideological foundations of this belief see the ability of the GAL children to communicate with each other in their home language that cannot be understood by their teachers, as being problematic and as something that promotes their having ill-disciplined behaviour in the school. This suspicion of the school staff led to the development of a school strategy for preventing GAL students from the same home language backgrounds being placed in the same mainstream class (lines 1-3). My findings are similar to those of Theodorou (2011a). Her ethnographic study indicated that immigrant students and their families were faced with teacher suspicion. This suspicion increased when migrant families decided to stay on the margins, because in the teachers' minds it was linked with societal unsteadiness and criminal behaviour among minorities and thus it was threatening.

The subsequent excerpt from an informal conversation that the head-teacher of Inner City Primary School had with me gives another example of her view that GAL students exhibit problematic behaviour.

Extract 7.10

Fieldnotes: Private meeting with the head-teacher outside school, 29/4/2011.

Inner City head-teacher: I'm not racist but it's the foreign children who usually cause the trouble. They are more lax than our children. They stay in the school in the afternoons and cause damage.

In this extract, the head-teacher maintains that 'foreign' GAL children are more lax than 'our' Greek-Cypriot children and thus cause trouble. They hang out in the schoolyard after school finishes in the afternoons and cause damage to the school buildings. This reflects the belief that all students of other ethnic backgrounds constitute a homogeneous group and 'problematic behaviour', a characteristic seen as being shared among all members. However, such beliefs ignore the effect that the community setting has in the process of integration, essentialise groups and overlook the variation that exists within them (Larson and Ovando, 2001; Theodorou, 2011a). Along similar lines, Theodorou (2011a), who carried out an ethnographic study in order to investigate the perceptions of Greek-Cypriot primary school teachers regarding the integration of immigrant pupils, points out that:

“Teachers commonly referred to Greek-Cypriot children as ‘ours’ (τα δικά μας) and to non-Greek-Cypriot children as ‘the foreign ones’ (τα ξένα). This division was not meant to discriminate against immigrant children in any conscious or intentional way; rather, it should be understood within the broader cultural context of Cyprus, which determines insiders and outsiders, privileging Greek-Cypriots over people with other cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, no matter their unintentionality, symbolic divisions of group membership reveal and perpetuate an emotional and cultural distance in which ‘our children’ become affiliated with the teachers, and ‘the foreign children’ by implication signify the people who are unlike ‘us’” (ibid.: 507-508).

I believe that it is of value to refer here to the reception I experienced in Inner City Primary School as a researcher interested in the education of immigrant students. I am

of the view that this was linked with the teachers' values and attitudes towards immigrant students in that it was difficult to recruit teachers to co-operate with my research. Even though the head-teacher agreed to let me conduct my fieldwork in her school, only two out of the six teachers responsible for GAL classes were willing to participate and during my fieldwork one of them withdrew when I asked her to give a detailed explanation of the way she was working. Moreover, my access to school life was limited and I felt I was not very welcome. In the staff room, except for Mrs A, the rest of the teachers did not give me the opportunity to have discussions with them about their experiences and practices. One of them expressed an unfavourable opinion about immigrant pupils and the belief that they were not worth much attention. More specifically, the mainstream class teacher of some of the GAL students who participated in this study (Lazaros, Samira and Andrei) said the following during an informal conversation I had with her:

Extract 7.11

Fieldnotes: Staff room, 3/5/2011: It was my first visit to Inner City Primary School after the Easter holidays. I went into the staff room and greeted the teachers. The mainstream class teacher of Lazaros, Samira and Andrei seemed surprised to see me and told me:

Teacher: Μα ακόμα ασχολείσαι με τούτους τους αλλόγλωσσους;
But you are still dealing with those other-language
children?

The words 'μὰ' (but) and 'τούτους' (those) used by the teacher give a very negative sense to this utterance in Greek language, which cannot be conveyed through the English translation. The way this question is articulated involves a feeling that the GAL children are not worthy of attention. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to communicate with the school staff and exchange ideas, I developed the practice of leaving the school after observing the GAL lessons. Given this disinterest in the fortunes of GAL students and the teachers' unwillingness to engage with me in my research, I came to the conclusion that they did not value my work.

On the whole, I can contend that the prevailing culture of Inner City Primary School appeared to be characterised by a set of separationist and distinctive values. The GAL children seemed to be experiencing separation and marginalisation from their peers and teachers, but as pointed out in the former section (7.2), they experienced marginalisation differently depending on how they were positioned in the ethnic and

linguistic hierarchies. I have also shown that the GAL students who were experiencing separation reproduced it themselves. Being strongly influenced by the hegemonic separationist values in the school culture, they reproduced separation and marginalisation among themselves by perceiving some ethnicities higher than others. These distinctive values were also expressed in visual form as explained in the next subsection.

iii) Visual indicators of separation

While doing my fieldwork in Inner City Primary School, I realised that there were no public displays of inclusiveness, but rather, quite the opposite. During my first couple of days at the school, I noticed some graffiti (see image 7.1 below) on the wall very close to the main entrance of the school, which led to the head-teacher's office as well as the teachers' staff room. The creator or even creators of this drawing had made use of a commonly employed Cypriot traffic sign, which signifies the existence of danger and alerts drivers to be careful. Those responsible had added to the sign the phrase 'Beware Pontian!'. They were probably trying to say be careful because there are Pontians attending this school or hanging out around the school. A phonetic rendering would be useful here in order to help the reader see this powerful example. I believe that it is likely this drawing had been written by children because of the existence of linguistic errors. Specifically, there were missing diacritics on both words 'προσοχή' and 'Πόντιος' (beware and Pontian) – see table 7.3 below. Moreover, in the word 'προσοχή' (be careful) the child has used 'ι' as the last letter, whereas actually it should be 'η' – see again table 7.3.

It is very interesting that the children in Inner City Primary School drew this anti-Pontian picture on the wall, but what is even more so is the fact that the school staff had made no attempt to remove it from the entrance to the school. Instead, it remained there throughout my research, that is, for five months. Thus, it would seem that it was not regarded as problematic enough by the school staff for them to remove it, which suggests a degree of acceptance in that location of the notion of there being sharp divisions between Greek-Cypriots and 'others'. So far, I have illustrated facets of the culture of Inner City Primary School, which seemed to be holding onto the dominant discourses of language and ethnicity. I now turn to the culture of Outer City Primary School, which appeared to be different.

Image 7.1: Anti-Pontian drawing on a wall in Inner City Primary School

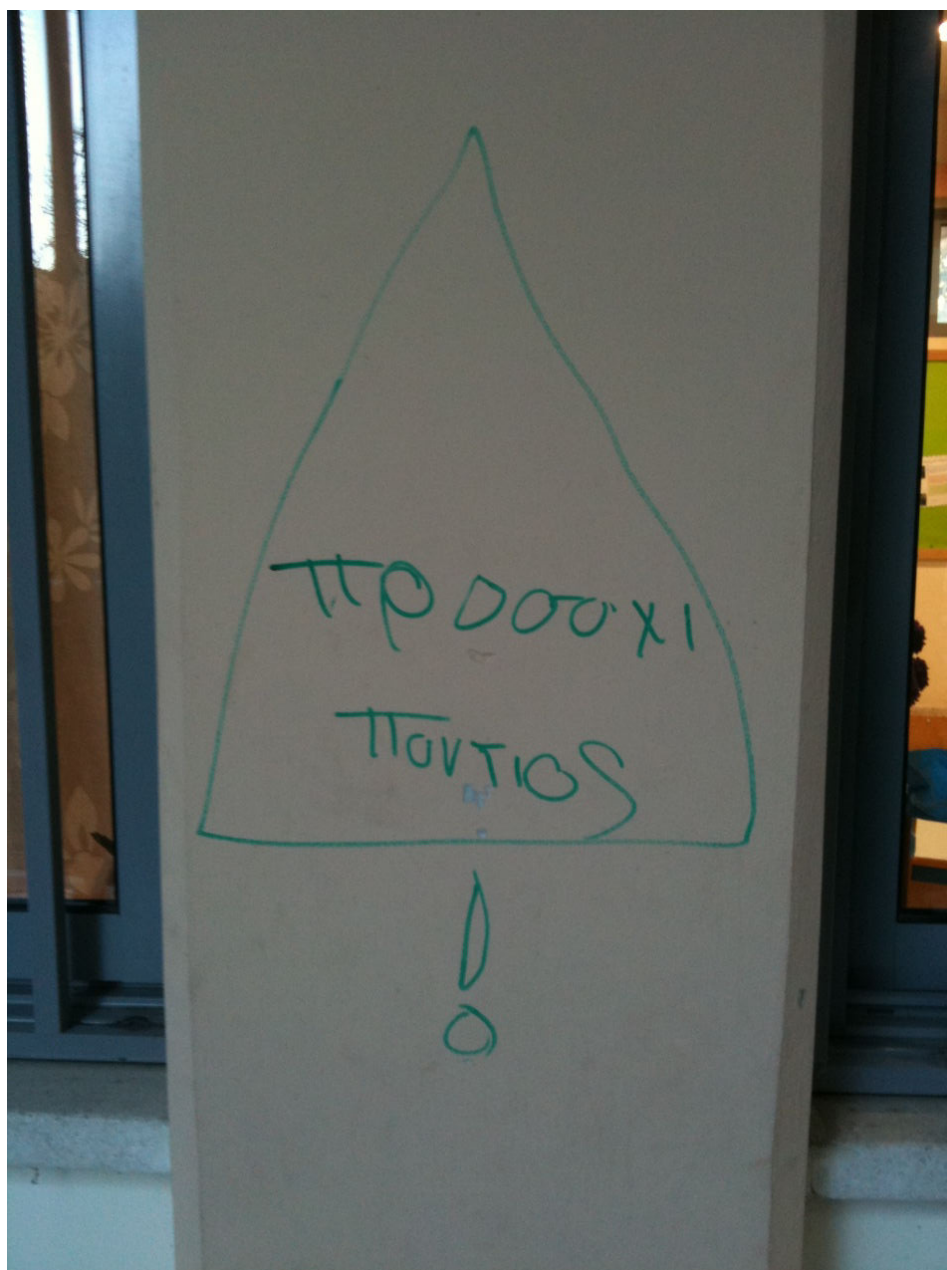


Table 7.3: Anti-Pontian drawing's language

Drawing's language	SMG
Προσοχι	Προσοχή
Ποντιος	Πόντιος

7.3.2 Outer City Primary School: Moving towards interculturalism

In what follows, I provide data (observations, discussions, images) revealing facets of the culture of Outer City Primary School, which indicate that it has been making a move towards interculturalism.

i) GAL students mixing together with Greek-Cypriot students

While doing my fieldwork in Outer City Primary School, I observed the GAL students during their school breaks. From these times, I realised that these children were not being isolated from the other of the pupils in the school, for they were interacting and mixing with the mainstream Greek-Cypriot students.

Florentin ((a newly arrived Romanian boy who was attending grade 6)) was walking around the schoolyard with some of the Greek-Cypriot students from his mainstream class. One of them was Andreas, whose mother is of Romanian descent and his father is Greek-Cypriot (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 6/4/2011).

Vladimir ((a boy of Bulgarian descent who was attending grade 1)) was playing 'hide and seek' in the schoolyard with his Greek-Cypriot classmates. He was running around smiling (fieldnotes, schoolyard, 13/4/2011).

Every Thursday during the first break the students from grade 6 are allowed to play football in the football stadium. Today, Marko ((a boy of Bulgarian descent attending grade 6)) and Ivan ((a boy of Romanian descent attending grade 6)) were playing football with their Greek-Cypriot classmates (fieldnotes, break, 14/4/2011).

These observations are typical of what happened during break time, demonstrating friendly ties amongst the children, were apparent throughout my investigation at this school and they were in accord with what the school staff told me. For example, in an interview Mrs B reported that the GAL students were accepted by their peers and participated in school life:

Extract 7.12

- | | | |
|---|---------------|---|
| 1 | Mrs B: | τα μικρότερα παιδιά (.)
the younger {GAL} children ((Vladimir, Nina and
Manolis)) (.) |
| 2 | | είναι εντελώς αποδεκτά (.)
are completely accepted (.) |
| 3 | | δε φαίνεται να υπάρχει... (.)
it doesn't seem to exist... (.) |
| 4 | | καμία... (.) κανέναν αποκλεισμό (.)
any... (.) any exclusion (.) |

5 ούτε ξεχωρίζουν (.)
 they also don't appear (.)
 6 να είναι απομονωμένα το διάλειμμα (.)
 to be isolated during the breaks (.)
 7 να παίζουν μεταξύ τους
 to play among themselves
 (...)

8 και στο μάθημα το ίδιο (.)
 and the same during the {mainstream} lessons(.)
 9 συμμετέχουν (.)
 they participate (.)
 10 όπως συμμετέχουν τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά
 like the rest of the children
 (recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

In this extract, Mrs B talks about the GAL students of Class B (Vladimir of Bulgarian descent, Nina of Greek-Cypriot and Romanian descent and Manolis of Greek-Pontian descent), who were attending the first mainstream grade during my research. She says that these children are not isolated or excluded from the Greek-Cypriot pupils during the breaks (lines 1-7) and participate like the rest of the pupils in their mainstream lessons (lines 8-10). In the following extract, Mrs B talks about the GAL students of Romanian descent in Class C (Marius, Ivan and Florentin), who were attending the last two mainstream grades during my study.

Extract 7.13

11 **Mrs B:** οι μεγαλύτεροι (.)
 the older {GAL children} ((Marko, Marius, Ivan,
 Florentin)) (.)
 12 από παρατηρήσεις τα διαλείμματα (.)
 from observations during the breaks (.)
 13 έχω εντοπίσει ότι... (.)
 I have noticed that... (.)
 14 άλλοτε είναι με συμμαθητές τους (.)
 sometimes they are with their {mainstream}
 classmates (.)
 15 και άλλοτε μπορεί (.)
 and some other times they may (.)
 16 ε... με συμμαθητές τους (.) που κατάγονται από
 Ρουμανία
 e... be with their classmates (.) originating from
 Romania
 (...)

17 και **δίνεται τους** η ευκαιρία (.)
 and **they are given** the opportunity (.)
 18 να μιλήσουν και στη μητρική τους γλώσσα
 to also talk in their mother tongue
 (recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

In this excerpt, Mrs B states that the three Romanian boys are either hanging out during the breaks with their Greek-Cypriot peers or with other children of Romanian

descent who are not attending a parallel class (lines 11-16). She then says that this gives them the opportunity to use their home language (lines 17-18). Having explained the child-child relationships in Outer City Primary School, I am now going to provide evidence about how the head-teacher and the teachers in the school viewed the GAL students.

ii) Moving towards interculturalism

The school staff in Outer City Primary School encouraged the students from particular ethnic groups to interact among themselves and communicate using their shared home language if they wanted. This is apparent in the next excerpt from the interview with Mrs B:

Extract 7.14

- 1 **Mrs B:** πιστεύω ότι **εστήριξαν** (.)
I believe **it supported** {the GAL children} (.)
2 ο τρόπος που έγινε φέτος η διδασκαλία των
ελληνικών(.)
the way that the teaching of Greek {GAL} took place
this {school} year (.)
3 **εστήριξέν τους** περισσότερο (.) και
συναισθηματικά(.)
and **it supported them** more (.) emotionally (.)
4 βρίσκονται μεταξύ τους (.)
they get together (.)
5 και τους δίνεται η ευκαιρία να επικοινωνήσουν (.)
στη γλώσσα τους (.)
and they are given the opportunity to
communicate(.) in their language (.)
6 επειδή οι περισσότεροι είναι από τη Ρουμανία (.)
because most of them are from Romania (.)
7 είναι θετικά σημεία **τούτα**
these are positive aspects

(recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

According to Mrs B, the way in which the parallel classes were organised in Outer City Primary School was beneficial for the GAL students of Romanian descent, because it enabled them to get together and use their shared home language to communicate with each other. She believed that this supported them emotionally. Thus, it would seem to be the case that Mrs B respected the different language background of the pupils and gave them space to use their shared home language in the GAL lessons for reasons of emotional support. As is made obvious in the excerpt below, the head-teacher shared the same view.

Two children of Romanian descent came to the school for the first time about one week before the Easter holidays. They had just arrived in Cyprus, after their mother got married to a Greek-Cypriot. Apostol is an eight-year-old boy and Lilian is an eleven-year-old girl. They were enrolled in mainstream classes depending on their age and started attending the parallel classes. Apostol was enrolled in grade 2 and Lilian in grade 5. With regards to Lilian, the head-teacher told me that, since there were two fifth grade mainstream classes, she took the decision to place her in E1 where there was Marius, a Romanian boy, in order to help her by translating during the lessons (extract from fieldnotes, 16/4/2011).

In this manner, the pupils were given space to use their shared home language in the mainstream lessons. The head-teacher's rationale behind placing a newly arrived Romanian girl in the same⁷⁷ mainstream class with a previously arrived Romanian boy was to provide opportunities for interaction in their shared home language, and thus promote emotional support, help with the mainstream lessons and encourage integration (fieldnotes, staff room, informal discussion with the head-teacher, 18/4/2011). According to studies carried out elsewhere in the world, using students' home language in the mainstream classroom setting enhances the development of their additional language, whilst additionally affirming their bilingual and bicultural identities by communicating a positive message about the worthiness of their linguistic and cultural background (see Cummins, 2000; 2008).

Furthermore, while doing my fieldwork I realised that the school staff in Outer City Primary School did not see the GAL children through the lens of ethnicity in terms of exhibiting troublesome behaviour because of their ethnic origin. Instead, they treated them as individual people with different personalities. This becomes apparent in the two excerpts below from interviews with the head-teacher and Mrs B.

Extract 7.15

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Outer City head-teacher: | νομίζω εν αποδεκτά στο δικό μας
σχολείο(.)
I think {the GAL students} are accepted
in our school (.) |
| 2 | | τζιαμέ που έννεεν αποδεκτά (.)
in the cases where they are not
accepted (.) |
| 3 | | έννεεν γιατί εν αλλόγλωσσα (.) |

⁷⁷ It is noticeable here that the head-teacher's practice in Outer City Primary School to enrol GAL students in same mainstream classes is in contrast with the MEC's directive to distribute non-Greek speaking pupils in different classes and schools in order to minimise the 'problem' as well as the reactions from teachers and parents (see MEC, Annual Report 2010, English edition, p. 328).

4 **it is not** because **they are** other-
 language children (.)
 5 **εν** λόγω χαρακτήρα (.)
 it is because of character (.)
 6 **ας πούμεν** ο Μάρκος
 for example Marko
 (...) **μπορεί** να τσακωθεί **λίγο** με τους
 άλλους(.)
 he might argue **a little bit** with the
 others {students} (.)
 7 αλλά **εν** θα πω ότι τον απορρίπτουν (.)
 but I will **not** say that they reject
 him(.)
 8 γιατί **εν** αλλόγλωσσος (.)
 because he **is** an other-language
 student(.)
 9 **απορρίπτουν τον** γιατί... **εν** ζηηρός
 they reject him because... **he is**
 naughty
 (recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

In the above excerpt, the head-teacher talks about a boy of Bulgarian descent, Marko, who was being rejected by his mainstream peers not because of his different linguistic, cultural or ethnic background, but because of his troublesome behaviour. Mrs B shared the same view about Marko, which is apparent in the excerpt below:

Extract 7.16

1 **Mrs B:** ο Μάρκο μου φαίνεται λίγο αποκλεισμένος
 it seems to me that Marko is a little bit excluded
 (...) **ευθύνεται** ο χαρακτήρας του (.)
 because of his character (.)
 2 ο τρόπος που αντιδρά (.)
 the way he reacts (.)
 3 **είναι** παρορμητικός πιο... επιθετικός
 he is impulsive more... aggressive
 (recorded interview, 6/5/2011)

According to Mrs B, his classmates excluded Marko because he had an impulsive and aggressive character. Here, both the head-teacher and Mrs B refer to the problematic behaviour of a boy originating from Bulgaria, not as a characteristic emanating from his ethnicity, but instead as an individual characteristic. They appeared to be able to differentiate between a child with behavioural problems and an immigrant child of a different ethnic and linguistic background. That is, they saw him as an individual and did not attribute his bad behaviour to the fact that he was of Bulgarian descent representing an ethnic group or a GAL student. This contrasted with the attitude of

some of the teachers at Inner City school who perceived general behavioural problems as being a trait of immigrant students.

Moreover, in contrast to dominant discourses which attribute low academic achievement to GAL children as a result of an inherent deficiency associated with their ethnicity, the head-teacher of Outer City Primary School claimed that she avoided grouping the GAL students together with the low achieving students. This is apparent in the subsequent excerpt from the interview with her.

Extract 7.17

- 1 **Outer City head-teacher:** ήθελεν κάποια συνάδερφος (.)
a particular colleague **wanted** (.)
2 **την αρχήν** του χρόνου (.)
in the beginning of the {school}
year(.)
3 **να δώσει της** ((όνομα)) ένα μωρό (.)
to give to Mrs B one child (.)
4 που ήταν αδύνατο (.)
that was weak {academically} (.)
5 να το βάλει να το ενισχύει (.)
to support him {in the parallel
classes} (.)
6 με τα αλλόγλωσσα (.)
with the other-language children (.)
7 **τζι** όταν το έμαθα (.)
and when I learnt about this (.)
8 έκοψα τη φόρα (.)
I stopped it (.)
9 λέω αποκλείεται
I say no way
(recorded interview, 14/5/2011)

In this extract, the head-teacher states that she stopped a mainstream teacher in the school who wanted to send to the parallel Greek language learning classes an academically low achieving student. In so doing, she was trying to communicate to the school staff that being a GAL child does not imply having low school performance (fieldnotes, informal conversation, 15/5/2011).

This situation of equating low achievement with weak language proficiency is maybe not atypical of how teachers are addressing the challenges of new migration. For example, Harris (1997) explains how a similar phenomenon occurred in England. According to this author, there was a tendency to conceptualise any child who spoke a language other than English as having educational problems and so he had to be

taught by teachers who taught children with learning difficulties. Cummins (2000) describes how the same situation occurred in linguistically and culturally diverse communities elsewhere in the world, such as United States, where schools and teachers saw children whose first language was other than English as having learning difficulties. As a result, they did not necessarily provide these children with EAL specialist support.

I believe that it is of value to refer here to the fact that I, as a researcher interested in the education of immigrant students, experienced a different reception in Outer City Primary School than in Inner City Primary School. I am convinced that my reception was linked with the teachers' values and attitudes towards immigrant students in Greek-Cypriot schools. As already pointed out, in Inner City Primary School, I felt I was not very welcome and I was provided limited access to school life. By contrast, in Outer City Primary School it was easy for me to operate as an ethnographic researcher in the school, for I was warmly accepted by the school staff and had free access to the school and classrooms. Although there was only one teacher responsible for GAL classes, many other teachers expressed their willingness to participate in my research. They approached me to share their experiences, opinions and practices, and spoke about their efforts to help GAL pupils learn Greek so as to succeed academically. Furthermore, I had the opportunity not only to observe GAL lessons, but also to take part in school life, by spending time in the schoolyard, being welcomed in the staff room, attending events, going to school visits etc). It could be argued that the interest and respect towards the GAL children in this school influenced positively my own treatment as a researcher.

On the whole, the data revealed in this section indicate that the prevailing culture of Outer City Primary School was characterised by a set of inclusive values. The school staff appeared to respect and value the GAL students' ethnic background and home language, providing them space to use their shared home language if they wanted, both in the classroom and the schoolyard. In doing so, they appeared to be trying to promote learning in the additional language, emotional support and integration. They also came across as treating the GAL children as individual people and did not see them through the lens of ethnicity in terms of exhibiting problematic behaviour or low school performance because of their ethnic origin. In addition to verbal

representations of inclusiveness, as expressed by the school staff in one-to-one interviews and informal discussions, the inclusive values of the school culture were also demonstrated in visible representations, a matter discussed in the next subsection.

iii) Visual indicators of inclusiveness

During my fieldwork in Outer City Primary School, I witnessed and took photographs of boards in the corridors, both inside and outside classrooms, decorated by the school staff and the children with the slogans of ‘Me-You-We’ and ‘Respect-Responsibility-Solidarity’⁷⁸. The following images (7.2 and 7.3) depict two boards in the corridors of Outer City Primary School showing two examples of these sayings.

The first example (image 7.2) shows a board decorated by the teachers and the students with the slogans ‘Εγώ-Εσύ-Εμείς’ (Me-You-We) and ‘Σεβασμός-Ευθύνη-Αλληλεγγύη’ (Respect-Responsibility-Solidarity), along with pictures that were taken during relevant activities organised in the school, for example, collecting money for philanthropic purposes through signing Christmas carols, organising bazaars, working together with UNICEF etc. The second example (image 7.3) is another board again decorated with the slogans of ‘Me-You-We’ and ‘Respect-Responsibility-Solidarity’. The teachers had placed here students’ drawings as well as the following words around these slogans: ‘αγαπώ’ (love), ‘νοιάζομαι’ (care), ‘εκτιμώ’ (appreciate), ‘ακούω’ (listen), ‘συμπονώ’ (feel), ‘συνεργάζομαι’ (cooperate), ‘βοηθώ’ (help), ‘ενδιαφέρομαι’ (care), ‘σέβομαι’ (respect). There were also four short texts written by the students on heart-shaped paper, the contents of which are about respect among all children. The following extracts come from these texts:

- 1) “I promise that I will not mock other children from other countries. In addition, I wish that the children from other countries are blessed and happy. I wish that they have health, happiness and joy. Also, I wish that they have healthy food and water.”

⁷⁸ Every year the MEC promotes one particular educational goal and invites schools to organise related activities. During the year in which I conducted my fieldwork, the goal was that of ‘Respect-Responsibility-Solidarity’. For the MEC’s document in Greek see <http://www.moec.gov.cy/stoxoi/index.html>.

Following these directions, the school staff in Outer City Primary School developed their own slogan (‘Me-You-We’), which they set as what they called the ‘school vision’. Throughout the school year they organised activities in order to promote respect, responsibility and solidarity among the students.

- 2) “I wish for all the children to have school, food, water, clothes, toys, milk and houses. I wish for all the children to be healthy. I would like all of them to be loved, healthy and happy. Also, I wish that their parents love them. I wish that the other children do not mock them. All EQUAL”
- 3) “I wish all the children of the world have food and are being loved by their friends. I would like to see poor countries being happy and cheerful with food. Also, I forgot to say that we are all equal. I want all the countries to be the same. We are all equal. It does not matter if we are not the same.”
- 4) “I wish all the children of the earth could have food, toys and parents. Also, I wish that they have friends, good health and happiness. I wish that all people have a house.”

Image 7.2: Decorated board in the corridor outside the staff room and the classrooms in Outer City Primary School



Images 7.3: Decorated board in the corridor outside the staff room and the classrooms in Outer City Primary School



Also, while doing my fieldwork I saw the slogans of ‘Me-You-We’ and ‘Respect-Responsibility-Solidarity’ on the boards inside the classrooms of Outer City Primary School and the following image (7.4) shows one such example. It illustrates a board in the first grade mainstream class of Vladimir and Manolis, two GAL children who participated in this study. The teacher of this class had decorated this board in her classroom with the slogan of ‘Me-You-We’. Moreover, the teacher had placed here the phrase ‘Όλοι διαφορετικοί! Ο καθένας μοναδικός!’ (All different! Everyone special!) and related pictures, along with the following words: ‘ανεκτικότητα’ (tolerance), ‘αλληλοβοήθεια’ (mutual help), ‘αλληλεγγύη’ (solidarity), ‘συνεργασία’ (collaboration), ‘σεβασμός’ (respect), ‘αγάπη’ (love), ‘κατανόηση’ (understanding), ‘αποδοχή’ (acceptance), ‘ισότητα’ (equality), ‘φιλία’ (friendship), ‘στήριξη’ (support) and ‘συνύπαρξη’ (coexistence).

Image 7.4: Decorated board in the mainstream class of Vladimir and Manolis



Beyond the school corridors and the classrooms, the slogans were also placed in the teachers' personal space: the staff room. The following photographs (7.5) were taken in the staff room of Outer City Primary School and depict a creation by the teachers and the students. It symbolises a tree containing the words of 'ισότητα' (equality), 'φιλία' (friendship), 'αποδοχή' (acceptance), 'σεβασμός' (respect), 'αγάπη' (love), 'ανεκτικότητα' (tolerance), 'αλληλεγγύη' (solidarity), 'συνεργασία' (collaboration) and 'αλληλοβοήθεια' (mutual help), together with children's drawings. In the trunk of the tree there is a poem titled 'Δώσε αγάπη' (Give love), which talks about giving love to all of the children in the West, East, North and South of the world.

Images 7.5: Creation by the teachers and the students placed in the staff room of Outer City Primary School



As already pointed out, the prevailing culture of Outer City Primary School respected and valued the language and ethnic background of the GAL students, which the teachers drew upon in order to promote learning in the additional language. This also becomes evident when looking at the images below. The first image (7.6) illustrates a board in the library of the school, which was used as the classroom where the parallel lessons were taking place. On this board there are two maps of Romania as well as a short text about the animals that are prominent in this country (see image 7.7). It is noticeable here that most of the GAL students in the school were of Romanian descent. On this board there is also a bilingual text in Greek and Romanian written by a newly arrived Romanian boy, called Florentin (see image 7.8).

Image 7.6: Board in the library of Outer City Primary School



Image 7.7: A map showing the place of Romania in the world, a detailed map of the country and a short text about the animals that are prominent there in Greek

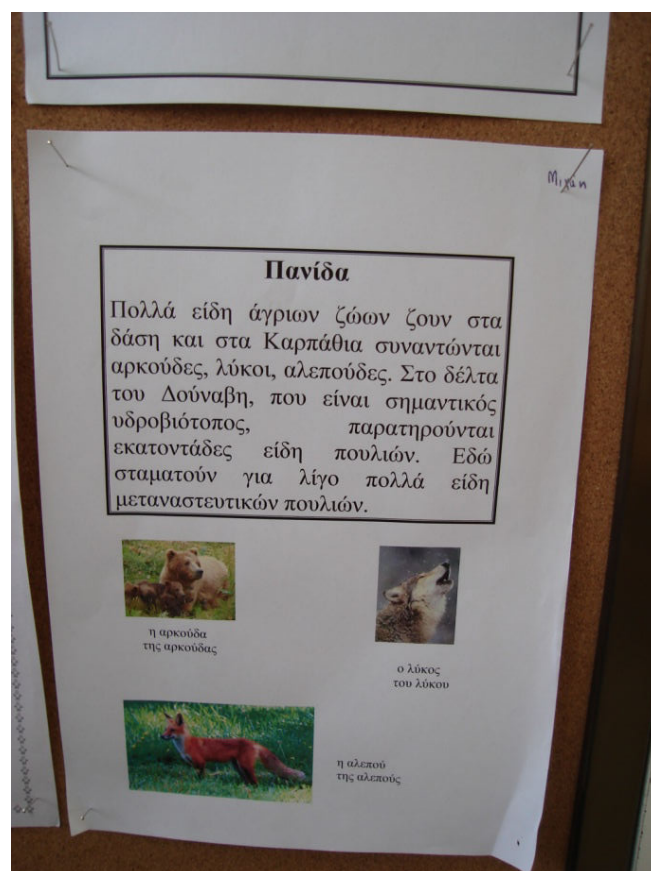
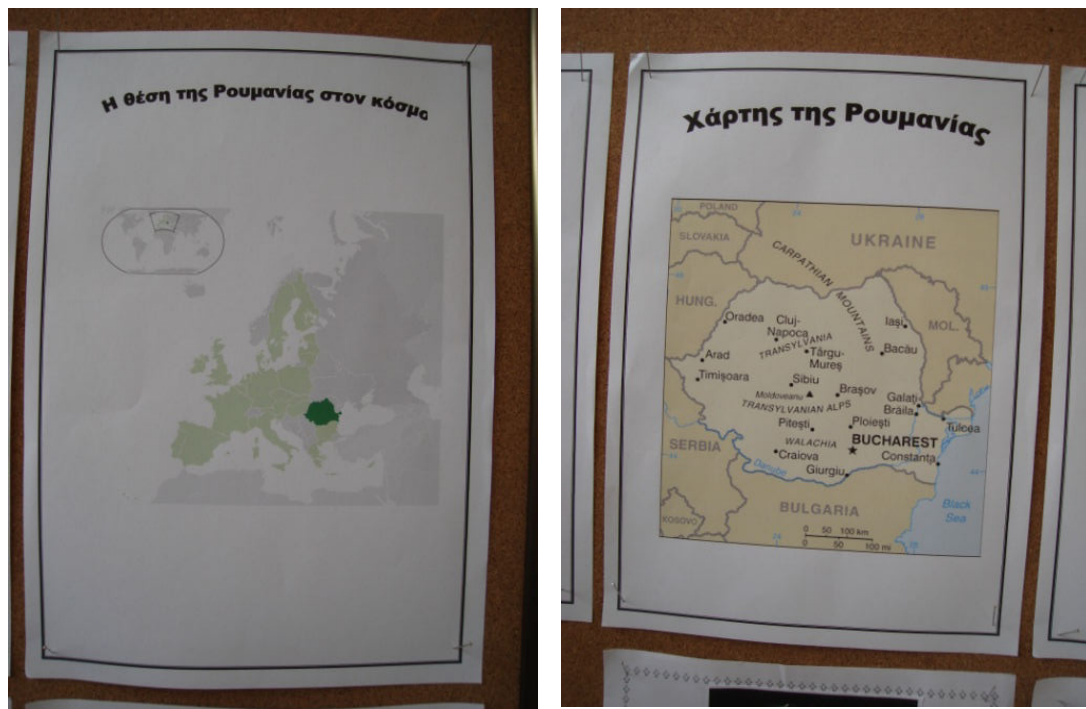
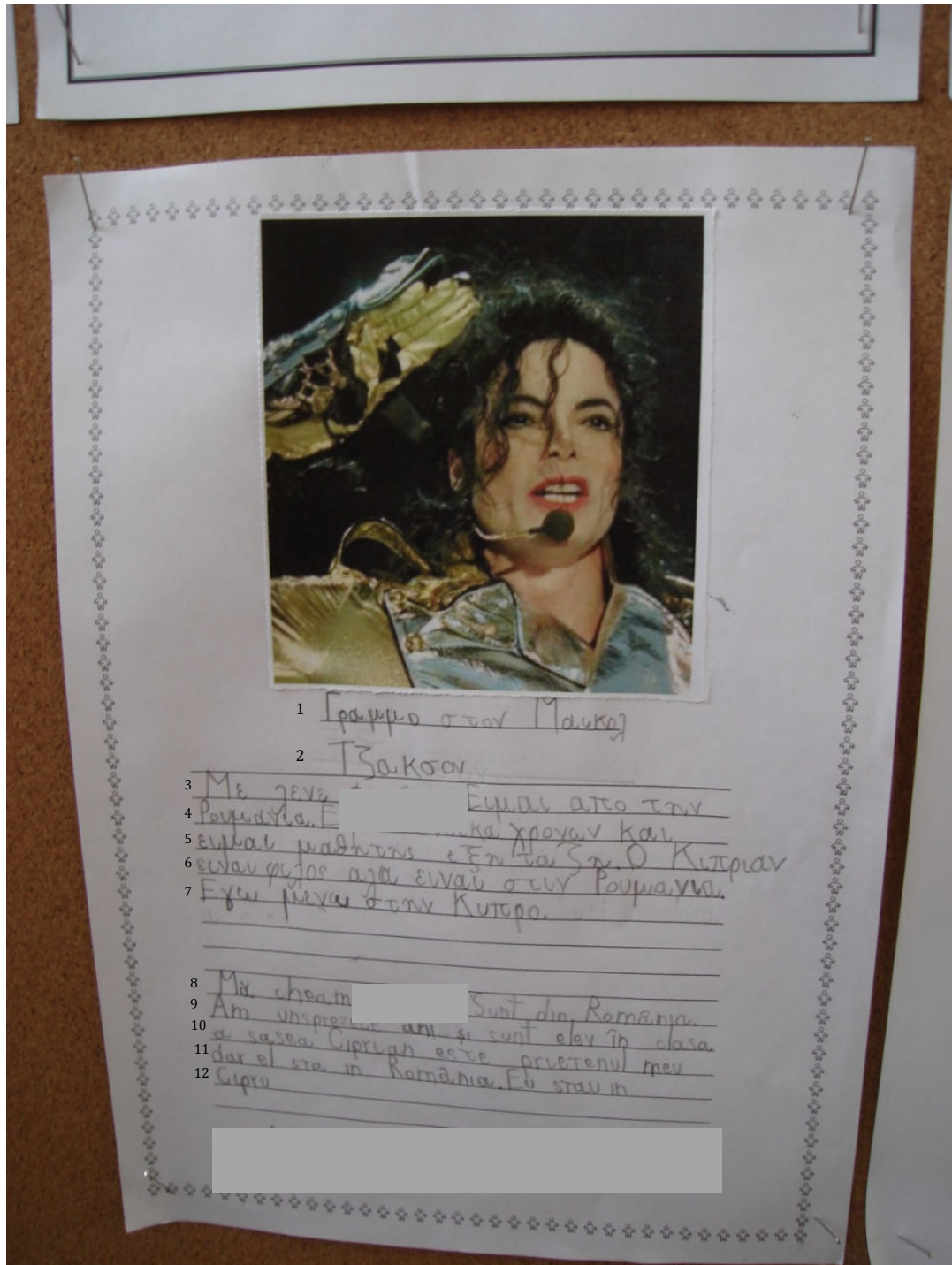


Image 7.8: Greek-Romanian letter to Michael Jackson



Regarding the above image (7.8), Florentin's text is written first in Greek (lines 1-7) and then in Romanian (lines 8-12). The title of this text is 'Γράμμα στον Μάικολ Τζάκσον' (Letter to Michael Jackson). Although his SMG writing is accurate, there are some linguistic errors. For example, there are no diacritics and, in line 5 where Florentin was trying to say that he was attending the sixth grade, he wrote 'six' (έξιη/eksi) instead of 'sixth' (έκτης/ektis). Nevertheless, even though this text is simplified for a twelve year-old and there are linguistic errors, the importance of it is that a new arrival child has produced SMG writing drawing from his knowledge of Romanian language.

All the above images not only demonstrate a school culture that respects and values the GAL students' language and ethnic origin, but also go a step further to encourage them to use their home language in order to express themselves and build on this to promote learning.

To conclude, it has been shown that there was a clear difference in the enactment of the policy for PIGLLC between the Inner City Primary School and Outer City Primary School. These two schools were operating under different ideological values, which were embedded in the school culture. On the one hand, the school staff in the first school seemed to be holding on to the dominant discourses of language and ethnicity, avoided changes to the school culture, and operated with values and beliefs about ethnic separation and distinctiveness. On the other hand, the school staff in the latter school was trying to change the school culture in order to make a move towards interculturalism, and had adopted values and beliefs about being inclusive that recognised the GAL students' language and background.

As to why such an obvious difference existed, I believe that the head-teachers as 'leaders' were playing a key role. The head-teacher of Inner City Primary School talked about GAL students in terms of their causing problems, whereas the head-teacher of Outer City Primary School stressed the need to accept these students as part of the school community. Several local and international studies have drawn attention to the importance of school leaders' beliefs, assumptions, values and interpretations of diversity and intercultural education in creating the culture, philosophy, necessities and priorities of the school. Moreover, the way in which intercultural education is

enacted in practice is also influenced by the school leaders' pedagogical visions, goals and leadership styles (Adalbjarnardottir and Runarsdottir, 2006; Angelides, 2012; Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 2014; Leeman, 2003; Zembylas and Iasonos, 2010). As Leeman emphasises, "if schools want to give intercultural education a chance, they must opt for a focused development of vision and direct and guide intercultural education as a part of school policy" (ibid.: 31).

Conclusion

In the previous chapter, which discussed my four focal students' biographical and linguistic trajectories, it emerged that even though all but one could already speak Greek like other Greek-Cypriot children, they were still placed in parallel intensive Greek language classes. The question then arose as to why had this misplacement happened? This chapter has sought to provide an answer. I have shown that there are dominant Hellenocentric anti-immigrant discourses, and prevailing ethnic and linguistic hierarchies, circulating in wider society and in schools in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. I have argued that GAL students, depending on their ethnic and linguistic trajectories, are positioned differently within these hierarchies and are more likely to be placed in parallel Greek language classes if they belong to low rank positions. Theodorou and Symeou (2013), examining the experiences of indigenous minority pupils of Roma descent and immigrant students of Greek-Pontian background in the Greek-Cypriot educational context in two schools have reached a similar conclusion. As they claim, "most of the children at both schools were born or raised in Cyprus from an early age; yet were primarily perceived to be foreign by their Greek-Cypriot [teachers and] peers and as such to have less of a legitimate claim to Cyprus as their home country" (ibid.: 364).

The students whose circumstances have been analysed in this chapter attended two different Greek-Cypriot state primary schools. Lazaros, Samira and Andrei were in Inner City Primary School, whereas Nina was in Outer City Primary School. From my data analysis, it has become obvious that the ethnic and linguistic hierarchies prevailed more strongly in the former school than in the latter. That is, in Inner City Primary School, where the culture promoted ethnic separation and distinctiveness, the hierarchies played a crucial role in the school decisions taken regarding which pupils

were going to attend parallel classes. Consequently, these classes had ended up as a marginalisation 'space' for students belonging to lower rank positions within the hierarchies as well as becoming somewhere where GAL students adhered to these hierarchies by reproducing them among themselves.

In Outer City Primary School, the culture appeared sympathetic and inclusive towards GAL children. However, the question that arises is: Why was Nina, a girl of Greek-Cypriot and Romanian descent, who was born and being raised in the Greek-Cypriot community and was speaking the Greek-Cypriot dialect fluently, placed on a parallel Greek language course? The reason given by the head-teacher was that she was a shy child and she wanted her to benefit from small group teaching. However, there are many other shy Greek-Cypriot children, so the question still remains why she selected her for the GAL classes? It could be because she had an immigrant parent, which if the case, would show that even in a school that claims to be adopting an intercultural approach there are still many challenges ahead that need to be overcome. Ironically, what was claimed by school staff as an attempt to offer educational support to this student ended up as a way of separating her from the mainstream and thus marginalising her. Along similar lines, Theodorou and Symeou (2013) have reported in their study on efforts by teachers to 'promote' interculturalism in the classroom through encouraging Greek-Pontian students who were born and raised in the Greek-Cypriot community to talk about their experiences in Russia. They concluded: "Ironically, what might have seemed in the eyes of the teacher as an effort of cultural inclusion ended up penalising and marginalising these students" (ibid: 365).

**PART THREE: RETHINKING ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE IN
GREEK-CYPRIOT SCHOOLS**

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION:

Rethinking ethnicity and language in Greek-Cypriot schools

8.0 Introduction

As pointed out in the thesis introduction, I decided to undertake this research when I found myself as one of a new generation of teachers going into the Greek-Cypriot school system who had to face some difficult questions. During my final year of teacher training, I was expected to teach in a Greek-Cypriot state primary school and I realised that there were immigrant children in this school, but the teachers had not developed a sophisticated response to their presence in the classrooms. This prompted me to feel the need to do something about these children, so I left my country to come to the UK, an ‘old’ immigration country, in order to conduct research on this issue.

This thesis has focused on the enactment of the Greek-Cypriot MEC’s policy concerning PIGLLC in state primary schools in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus. The research questions that I pursued were:

1. In what way is the MEC’s policy concerning parallel classes enacted in specific schools?
2. To what extent are the MEC’s directives helpful to head-teachers and teachers?
3. To what extent are children of migrant descent being correctly placed in parallel classes in Greek-Cypriot primary schools?
4. How do head-teachers and teachers respond both to the MEC’s policy and the new conditions of superdiversity?
5. How useful are Hellenocentric approaches to teaching Greek language in the new era of superdiversity currently affecting the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus?

In this concluding chapter, I am going to:

- i) summarise the thesis arguments (section 8.1);
- ii) elaborate on the importance of applying ethnographic approaches to research on GAL students (section 8.2);
- iii) propose a shift in perspective with regards to thinking about ethnicity and put forward that thinking about GAL students needs to accommodate existing work on the issue of SMG/GCD (section 8.3);
- iv) propose the term GAL (section 8.4).
- v) elaborate on the limitations of my study and suggest areas for further research (section 8.5);

8.1 Summary of the thesis arguments

I aimed for my thesis to be an ethnographic study investigating the misplacement of students in parallel intensive Greek language classes in Greek-Cypriot state primary schools and the lack of principles underpinning their being placed there. My key interest, having brought this to light, was to probe how this misplacement had come about and to put forward suggestions as to how this should be redressed. I have shown that as long as the Hellenocentric ideology in the Greek-Cypriot educational system remains unaffected by the new phenomena of superdiversity and globalisation, then pupils of migrant background will continue to be erroneously placed in GAL classes.

Setting the thesis in context, I began by examining in chapter 1 a Cyprus dominated by conflicts between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities, as well as the traditionally community-based organisation of their educational systems. After that, moving the discussion to the Greek-Cypriot community and its educational context, I argued that ‘Hellenocentrism’ has a lengthy history in the field of education. This discourse views Cypriot-Orthodox persons as members of the Greek nation with the same culture, language and religion, as well as with distinct boundaries from other ethnic groups. However, as I explained, there has recently been a tumultuous change in the population of the Greek-Cypriot community with the new migration. This change has affected the school system, which increasingly has had to educate students from various ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds. In

chapter 1, I also explained my theoretical stance, which is different from the Hellenocentric approach to ethnicity and language. From the ethnicity angle, aligning myself with insights from British Cultural Studies about the importance of ‘new ethnicities’ (Hall, 1991), I took a theoretical approach that treats ethnicity not as a closed homogeneous category, but as a more open one. At the same time, through knowledge of Vertovec’s (2007) superdiversity theory, I was aware of the patterns and dynamics of this phenomenon in contemporary societies. From the language angle, I adopted a theoretical approach that is not the same as the Hellenocentric monolingual SMG model. In a superdiverse world, people move and engage with a wide range of communities, networks and groups. As a result, their language resources are learned through a broad range of trajectories, technologies and tactics in formal learning environments as well as through informal ‘encounters’ with languages (Blommaert and Backus, 2011).

Such a way of thinking about ethnicity and language led me to research in a particular way. Blommaert and Backus (2011), Blommaert and Rampton (2011) and Vertovec (2007) call for research on superdiversity and language to be powerfully founded on ethnography. More specifically, they consider the ethnographic approach to research with “its commitment to taking a long hard look at empirical processes” (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 12) as the best way to discover the otherwise missed ethnic and linguistic complexities of contemporary conditions. Following this line (as explained in chapter 2), I conducted a qualitative study ‘using ethnographic tools’ to try to develop more of an ‘ethnographic perspective’ (Green and Bloome, 1997). I committed myself to researching up-close and paying attention to individuals through collecting naturally occurring speech and observational data. This is something that is not customary in the Greek-Cypriot educational context, where studies by and large employ questionnaires or interviews.

In chapter 3, I carried out documentary analysis. Central to this thesis was the Greek-Cypriot MEC’s policy document for PIGLLC, which was developed and circulated to all state primary schools for the first time in 2008. I argued that this move was prompted by the need to respond to EU discourses about human rights for minorities, and not by a change in the Hellenocentric ideology that prevails in the Greek-Cypriot school system. For, the fact that the policy for parallel classes was developed as

something extra to regular school life and on the margins of the mainstream reveals that the Hellenocentric character of the curriculum was left untouched. Along similar lines, several other Greek-Cypriot researchers have claimed that the MEC's attempts to promote intercultural education in the domain of state education have been linked with efforts to adopt EU discourses of interculturalism (Hajisoteriou 2010; 2013; Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 2013b; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013; Trimikliniotis et al., 2012). I used the term 'symbolic policy' to describe the PIGLLC policy, whereby it was acknowledged that this has come about as a response to EU pressure and not internally, which has resulted in it not being whole-heartedly carried. There are serious limitations regarding this policy text, because it provides scant information as to how PIGLLC can be organised in schools. Also, funds have been poorly allocated to this provision. My argument that the MEC's policy is only symbolic is in line with numerous other Greek-Cypriot scholars' contention that intercultural education policy is not founded on systematically thought-out initiatives, and as a result, it can be characterised as a 'symbolic interculturalist' policy (Hajisoteriou, 2010; Hajisoteriou et al., 2012).

All of the abovementioned prompted the need to investigate what actually happens when the policy document for PIGLLC reaches the institutions and the classrooms. Ball (1993) warns against taking for granted that policies are 'implemented' in a mechanical way, but rather emphasises that enactments vary between contexts. He sees policies not as solutions to existing problems, but as creating problems for policy actors in school environments, who as a consequence have to develop different contextualised solutions. In accordance with Ball's ideas about policies, chapter 4 showed that in practice the two institutions taking part in my research project faced numerous challenges when enacting the policy for PIGLLC, which contradicts the MEC's view that it is solving the problem. One of the central obstacles that the head-teachers faced was the absence of clear directions about how children were going to be selected to attend the parallel intensive Greek language classes and I showed the different local solutions devised in response to this problem. On the one hand, the head-teacher of Inner City school registered all children who had at least one migrant parent as automatically GAL students, perhaps in an attempt to gain extra teaching periods for her school. On the other hand, the head-teacher of Outer City school used the MEC's initial assessment test to identify which students needed intensive Greek

language teaching. However, in both schools children who were already communicatively competent in GCD were selected to attend the parallel classes. Other key policy problems were: i) no clear direction about how to organise parallel intensive Greek classes, ii) no guidelines concerning the teaching goals and content of intensive Greek lessons, iii) no instructions regarding who was going to teach these classes in the absence of GAL specialists, and iv) no clear direction about from which mainstream subjects the pupils were going to be withdrawn. The solutions the two head-teachers adopted appeared to be contrasting and they also seemed to be steered by larger ideological considerations. The head-teacher of Inner City school seemed comfortable with the Hellenocentric ideology, which informed her approach and she did not really change anything in her school. By contrast, the head-teacher of Outer City school tried to accommodate the change that was happening in society and took a more principled approach to the challenges she faced.

Chapter 5 showed that in addition to the problems faced by the head-teachers at the institutional level, there were also those at the level of the classroom teachers. More specifically, the two teachers who participated in my study were left without clear guidance about how to teach GAL in their parallel classes and were not adequately qualified. As a consequence, they were faced with the decision about how to modify their practice in order to cater for GAL students and I showed the different local solutions they found. Mrs A in Inner City school emphasised traditional grammar teaching and monolingual instruction, whereas Mrs B in Outer City emphasised communicative language teaching and developed GAL instruction using home languages. Mrs A's lessons did not seem to promote learning effectively, because most of the time the GAL students responded by giving the wrong answers or not participating in the lessons. The sessions also turned into guessing games where the students tried to surmise her preferred answer. By contrast, Mrs B's lessons seemed to be effective, since the GAL students were successfully engaged in discussions, and used the Greek language effectively and meaningfully. Moreover, there was a further difficulty for the teachers, since they were left without clear guidance about what they were supposed to be teaching in their parallel intensive Greek language classes, SMG or GCD. I demonstrated how they developed different solutions to this problem and drew attention to the fact that GCD was actually prominent in their classes. Mrs A tried to track the problem by teaching grammar using a mixture of SMG and GCD.

However, this appeared to be problematic, because her GAL students reproduced GCD words in their written work, something that is considered wrong according to the mainstream curriculum. On the other hand, Mrs B consistently avoided using GCD in her parallel lessons, but she did give space to her GAL students to express themselves through SMG, GCD or a mixture of both without interrupting them. When necessary, she used the dialect to help the children understand new vocabulary in SMG. On the whole, even though the MEC has established a policy text that requires schools to organise GAL classes, it appears that both the head-teachers and the teachers were left to their own devices to come up with solutions to the problems posed to them by the limitations of this text and as a result its enactment was random and unsystematic, rather than systematic and principled, as labeled by the European Commission (2013).

According to Arnaut and Spotti (2014), in the new era of superdiversity and globalisation, the view of unitary speech communities and fully fluent native speakers is no longer adequate for appreciating the repertoires of individuals consisting of resources from various languages. In acknowledgement of this perspective, in chapter 6 the focus was on four students whose biographical trajectories and linked linguistic repertoires were examined. I argued that, for most of these students, there was a problem about their placement in parallel intensive Greek language classes, because they already spoke Greek as well as other Greek-Cypriot children. For example, Samira, a girl of Iranian descent, and Lazaros, a boy of Greek-Pontian heritage, had spent most of their lives in Cyprus. I collected evidence of them speaking fluently in a mixture of SMG and GCD as well as participating fully in Greek-Cypriot cultural practices, ceremonies and anniversaries. However, when it came to reading and writing in SMG, Samira was an average student, whereas Lazaros had very low attainment. Another example was Nina, who had been born in Cyprus to a Romanian mother and a Greek-Cypriot father and had spent all of her life there. She was very shy and did not participate much during the lessons. However, I observed her speaking fluently in a mixture of SMG and GCD, while at the same time she seemed to have limited competence in Romanian. The question then arises as to why were they misplaced in these classes. My focal children were misplaced because the Hellenocentric ideology that prevails the Greek-Cypriot school system cannot envisage (a) people who do not have Greek-Cypriot parents and a Greek-only

orientation to language as anything else but outsiders or (b) that children can be GCD speakers when their parents are migrants. This ideology prevents policy makers and teachers from engaging with migrant students' actual biographical and linguistic trajectories. However, it is very significant to focus on these in order to be able to set principles upon which to build GAL teaching.

Chapter 7 showed that when the phenomenon of new migration occurred in the Greek-Cypriot community, the Hellenocentric discourse tended to produce ethnic and linguistic hierarchies. These hierarchies influenced school staff decisions to place the four focal students in parallel Greek language classes. In fact, as well as being considered as belonging to lower tiers than Greek-Cypriots, even within this group there was different placement on the hierarchies and it also transpired that pupils were more likely to be placed in parallel classes if they belonged to low rank positions. My stance regarding the existence of linguistic and ethnic hierarchies in Greek-Cypriot society as well as its educational system is in line with Theodorou (2011b), who found that there has been an 'interethnic hierarchy' at play in the Greek-Cypriot primary school in which she conducted her research. Furthermore, in chapter 7, I argued that the dominant Hellenocentric ideology not only resulted in the wrong placement of my focal students in GAL classes, but also affected the ethos of the whole institution. There was a clear differentiation in the school culture and ethos between the Inner City Primary School and the Outer City one. The school staff in the first school appeared to be holding on to the dominant discourses of language and ethnicity, seemed to be uncomfortable with the new kind of pupil diversity, and tried to avoid or resist changes. In contrast, those at the latter school appeared to be responding to the new kind of diversity by trying to change the school culture in order to make a move towards interculturalism.

From the synopsis above of the thesis' central arguments, it seems that as long as Hellenocentrism carries on being the ideological orthodoxy in the Greek-Cypriot educational system, then pupils of migrant backgrounds who are growing up in the Greek-Cypriot community and are already fluent in GCD will continue to be wrongly placed in GAL classes. Most probably this is going to be the case even when schools make efforts to develop an intercultural approach, because the Hellenocentric character of Greek-Cypriot education does not leave room for these children to be

envisaged as anything but outsiders by constructing them into a permanent ‘otherness’ (Bhabha, 1994; Harris and Leung, 2004; Leung et al., 2009). Of course, it would be very difficult to reach such conclusions without employing an ethnographic approach and collecting naturally occurring data. The importance of ethnographic methods for my work is further elaborated in the next section.

8.2 The importance of an ethnographic approach

As explained in chapter 2, previous research on GAL in the Greek-Cypriot community has mainly been based on the use of questionnaires or interviews. While the findings of these studies are useful, they lack close attention to everyday practice and what actually happens in schools and classrooms. To my knowledge, none of these studies has actually identified the problematic phenomenon of wrongful placement of students in parallel intensive Greek language classes in Greek-Cypriot state primary schools, which I was able to see because of my extended ethnographic observations, recordings and analysis of these recordings.

In line with Blommaert and Backus (2011), Blommaert and Rampton (2011) and Vertovec’s (2007) emphasis on employing ethnographic approaches to comprehend the nature and intricacy of contemporaneous ethnicity, language and superdiversity, I undertook qualitative research using ethnographic tools geared towards an ethnographic perspective. I believe this is what makes my work significant and distinctive. Conducting systematic fieldwork, paying close attention to school and classroom practice, and concentrating on classroom interaction, enabled me to gain insights into the phenomenon of interest as well as understanding how it came about and why, from the perspective of my participants. Had I chosen to use a different method of data collection, I am convinced it would have been impossible to capture the GAL students’ biographical and linguistic trajectories, which allowed for unpacking the complex reasons behind their wrongful placement in PIGLLC. However, I was only able to make a small start on this and what I believe is necessary in the future is to have ethnographic work that covers more locations and focuses on schools with a high proportion of GAL pupils.

In adopting this approach, (i) my thesis adds to a small but developing body of literature using ethnographic approaches to undertake educational research in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus (i.e. Christou and Spyrou, 2012; Hadjioannou et al., 2011; Ioannidou, 2009; Ioannidou and Sophocleous, 2010). (ii) It also contributes, more importantly, to an even smaller body of work applying ethnographic approaches to research on GAL students (i.e. Angelides et al., 2003; Theodorou, 2011a; 2011b; Theodorou and Symeou, 2013). My thesis adds to this body of research by offering new ethnographic knowledge about the education of students with a GAL background in the Greek-Cypriot community. More specifically, it breaks new ground in challenging the dominant Hellenocentric understanding of ethnicity by suggesting that the grounds behind the misplacement of these children is that they are viewed within an ethnically narrow perspective. In sum, I am proposing a shift in this perspective in thinking about ethnicity in Greek-Cypriot society, which is elaborated further in the following section.

8.3 Rethinking ethnicity - The new Greek-Cypriots

My thesis raises the following questions: When is someone considered a Greek-Cypriot? What constitutes a Greek-Cypriot identity? The Hellenocentric image of the Greek-Cypriot is predominantly that of a white skinned, dark haired person with Greek-Cypriot parents and grandparents as well as Greek as a first language. However, the findings of this thesis have revealed the limitations of Hellenocentric ideology for understanding the changes brought about by the new migration and superdiversity. They have also shown the necessity for a more open approach to ethnicity.

My study has uncovered the problem of the continuing use of ethnically and linguistically absolute labels, such as ‘Greek-Pontians’, ‘Iranians’, ‘Romanians’, and ‘Bulgarians’, especially when referring to children of migrants growing up in the Greek-Cypriot community, speaking GCD, going to Greek-Cypriot schools, and participating fully in Greek-Cypriot cultural practices, ceremonies and anniversaries. A closer look at my focal students’ biographical and linguistic trajectories in chapter 6 revealed that it was difficult to fit them into separate and distinct ethnic categories, as

these ‘ethnically absolute’ categories oversimplify their multifaceted and diverse relationships with other cultures and languages (Gilroy, 1987). Two of them, Samira of Iranian background and Lazaros of Greek-Pontian background, were cultural and linguistic insiders with considerable experience of living in the Greek-Cypriot community and with competence in everyday spoken Greek-Cypriot. This was a significant but overlooked aspect of their linguistic repertoires. Another student, Nina, was of mixed ethnicity (Greek-Cypriot and Romanian), something that could not be captured within the existing labels of the MEC (Peach, 1996). All three of them had continuous connections with other countries, cultures and languages, but at the same time, spoke a mixture of GCD and SMG like other Greek-Cypriot children of their age as well as participating in Greek-Cypriot cultural practices, such as Orthodox Easter traditions. Nevertheless, they were regarded as outsiders and ‘others’, and as a consequence, were wrongly offered intensive Greek language pedagogy. Therefore, it could be argued that the abovementioned absolutist labels are ultimately inadequate and misleading, as they do not appreciate the complexity of ethnic identities, but rather involve making stereotypical assumptions about individual ethnic backgrounds. In order to provide for these unique ethnicities there must be a widening of ethnic definitions, for this will lead to more considered and better educational provision based on a case-by-case judgment rather than a blanket policy towards outsiders.

My thesis exposes the necessity to discover new ways of thinking about ethnicity that are flexible and hence, more compatible with the era of superdiversity and globalisation than the predominant absolutist perspectives. The work of scholars in the field of British Cultural Studies, as discussed in section 1.4, provides a helpful framework for making sense of the situation and understanding ‘ethnicity’ in a more open way (‘cultures of hybridity’, ‘new ethnicities’, ‘new identities’) that overcomes the essentialist belief of cultural sameness, homogeneity and continuity (Hall, 1992; Harris, 2006). Moreover, Gilroy (1993), with his notion of ‘ethnic absolutism’, warns against generating ethnic boundaries between the majority group and ethnic minority groups by operating through an absolute sense of this phenomenon. In line with this view, I am proposing that in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus there should be a shift away from the Hellenocentric understanding of ethnicity that sees children of migrant backgrounds as ‘foreigners’ and ‘outsiders’ to actually perceiving them as ‘new Greek-Cypriots’: new Greek-Cypriots of Iranian descent, new Greek-Cypriots

of Pontian descent, new Greek-Cypriots of Greek-Cypriot and Rumanian descent etc. This is because, in the case of my focal students, they had spent all or almost all their lives in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus, spoke the local variety like other Greek-Cypriot children and participated in local everyday cultural practices.

So far, I have referred to the dominant Hellenocentric understanding of ethnicity. Within this understanding, ‘Greeks’ can be united under the ‘Hellenic Nation’, which exceeds the nation-state borders of Greece or Cyprus (Gregoriou, 2004). This approach to ethnicity suppresses people’s Cypriot identity, as it does not allow them to have a distinct ethnicity with distinct language practices. In doing so, it ignores their dialectal language and in fact sees it as an inconvenience. The Hellenocentric approach to ethnicity places children of migrants as outsiders, even though my thesis has shown that in terms of everyday practice they are insiders, share Greek-Cypriot cultural practices and speak GCD. This is the reason why ethnicity needs to be rethought and the understanding of who is Greek-Cypriot needs to be expanded to include these children. Next, I further elaborate on the everyday language practices of GAL students, which include SMG and GCD.

8.3.1 SMG/GCD and the problem of ethnicity

A number of theorists in Greek-Cypriot society (see for example Ioannidou, 2009; Pavlou and Papapavlou, 2004; Tsiplakou, 2007; Yiakoumetti, 2007) have highlighted the problematic nature of excluding GCD from education in favour of only allowing SMG to be used. As they have argued, by failing to acknowledge the existence of GCD as Greek-Cypriot students’ home variety of speaking as different from that promoted in school, the Hellenocentric ideology makes learning SMG more difficult than need be. These theorists have highlighted the need for the introduction of GCD in the classroom alongside SMG in an explicit, conscious and well-planned way in order to enhance Greek-Cypriot children’s awareness of SMG features and those that are not (Yiakoumetti, 2007). However, what I am suggesting is that the problem of SMG/GCD needs to be tackled also in the context of GAL.

Yiakoumetti and Mina (2011) have made a step forward by addressing the matter of dialect in the setting of foreign language learning for Greek-Cypriot students. They

have revealed that GCD is present in foreign language lessons and significantly influences Greek-Cypriot students' foreign language learning. Karyolemou and colleagues (Karyolemou et al., 2011) have made reference to the issue of GAL students being exposed to GCD in their everyday lives. From interviews they conducted with Greek-Cypriot secondary school teachers, they found that when teaching GAL students during parallel intensive Greek language lessons, teachers had to deal with the fact that they come into contact with GCD outside the classroom. In the absence of official guidance about how to deal with it, teachers reported in the interviews that they could only draw on personal experience when deciding how to address GCD when it occurred during their lessons. Karyolemou and her colleagues have mentioned the issue of SMG/GCD briefly in relation to GAL students. However, my research has demonstrated that this issue urgently needs to be addressed. By failing to resolve the SMG/GCD issue in education, students like those focused upon in this research are being 'othered', whereby the current situation does not grasp the fact that they are fluent in GCD just like their Greek-Cypriot counterparts. Thus, if the curriculum permitted GCD, then all students could be treated the same, being taught the linguistic distinctions between SMG and GCD as well as comprehending the contexts in which each is used. In summation, by perceiving GAL students as 'new Greek-Cypriots with a migrant background', this allows for the acceptance that they may be speaking GCD like other Greek-Cypriot children as well as their home language. Therefore, what needs to be elicited is the degree to which each engages with SMG, GCD and their home language.

8.4 The term 'GAL'

Furthermore, my thesis breaks new ground in challenging the term 'Greek as a second language' (GSL) used so far in Greek-Cypriot society by coining the term 'Greek as an additional language' (GAL), which is compatible with the new era of globalisation and new migration since it makes no assumptions in advance of language proficiencies. In line with practice in the UK, where the term 'English as an additional language' has become the preferred term, I am arguing that we can no longer make presumptions about migrant children's linguistic practices and come to acknowledge that Greek may not be their second language. For instance, for Andrei, a boy of

Bulgarian background, Greek was his third language, because he was already a fluent speaker of Bulgarian and English. Moreover, by using the label GAL, the danger of assuming what children's dominant language is can be avoided and taking for granted that it is their home language. The term GSL also ignores the issue of SMG/GCD since for children of GAL backgrounds GCD might be their second language whilst SMG could be their third.

8.5 Research limitations and areas for further research

In chapter 2, I have explained the challenges that I faced when carrying out my ethnographic fieldwork (for example the difficulty of getting access to schools and recruiting teachers and immigrant parents due to the lack of an ethnographic tradition in educational research in the Greek-Cypriot context as well as the difficulty of maintaining confidentiality due to the small size of Greek-Cypriot society. In the same chapter, I have discussed the limitations of my research (such as the fact that Inner City and Outer City schools did not have all that many GAL pupils). I have also described the ways I managed to overcome these challenges and worked within these limitations in order to produce an ethnographic piece of work in relation to the education of immigrant students in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus.

However, I was only able to make a small start on this and I believe it is extremely important in the future to extend ethnographic research in this area. What is especially necessary is to get a close understanding of what things are like from the migrant child's point of view. For example, in a future research project I could spend the whole academic year with a class and record the lessons. I could have radio-microphones on specific GAL students so that I am able to collect extensive data about their learning, what they do and the interactions with their peers. Moreover, further research is needed concerning the phenomenon of the wrong placement of children in parallel intensive Greek language classes that covers more locations and focuses on schools with large numbers of GAL pupils.

Finally, it might be worth conducting comparative work between Greek-Cypriot society and other small societies, which have explicitly experienced rapid changes in

migration patterns affecting schools in the era of superdiversity. It might also be useful to explore the relevance of education policy responses to the big influx of migrants to the UK in the 1960s and 1970s with the responses in the Greek-Cypriot community of Cyprus.

Conclusion

To conclude, the strong ethnocentric ideology in Greek-Cypriot education results in pupils of a GAL background being made permanent others and does not allow policy makers, schools and teachers to see who they really are, for in particular it fails to consider their actual linguistic trajectories. I believe it is essential to consider all three aspects (GCD, SMG and GAL) in order to have a more complete understanding of the dynamics of education pertaining to migrant students. For, the GCD, SMG and GAL elements all interact and therefore must be considered in unison. A reworking, a re-interpretation and better understanding of language and ethnicity is required for the teaching of children of migrants in Greek-Cypriot primary schools, which will necessarily involve a challenge to the dominant Hellenocentric ideologies of language and ethnicity; and an increasing recognition of the effects of the new conditions of superdiversity. I argue that to achieve this a strengthening of the ethnographic research tradition in Greek-Cypriot educational research is essential.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: GAL Pupils' Profiles

Name	Country of birth	Male/Female	Age at the time of research	School	Greek language proficiency
Lazaros	Georgia	Male	10	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG ⁷⁹
Samira	Iran	Female	10	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Andrei	Bulgaria	Male	10	Inner City	New arrival Weak GCD/SMG but making rapid progress
Danail	Bulgaria	Male	11	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Radu	Romania	Male	12	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Emma	Romania	Female	12	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Alina	Poland	Female	12	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Neofitos	Georgia	Male	12	Inner City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Nina	Cyprus	Female	7	Outer City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Vladimir	Bulgaria	Male	7	Outer City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Manolis	Georgia	Male	7	Outer City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Marius	Romania	Male	11	Outer City	New arrival Relatively fluent mixed GCD/SMG but making rapid progress
Ivan	Romania	Male	12	Outer City	Fluent mixed GCD/SMG
Florentin	Romania	Male	12	Outer City	New arrival Weak GCD/SMG
Marko	Bulgaria	Male	12	Outer City	Weak GCD/SMG Learning difficulties
Apostol	Romania	Male	8	Outer City	New arrival No knowledge of GCD or SMG
Lilian	Romania	Female	12	Outer City	New arrival No knowledge of GCD or SMG

⁷⁹ Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD), Standard Modern Greek (SMG)

Appendix 2: Data Collection Summary

Participant Observation

- Parallel intensive Greek language lesson observations: 24 hours
- Mainstream lesson observations: 5 hours and 20 minutes
- General school observations: 102 hours

Numbers of lessons observed:

- 35 parallel intensive Greek language lessons
- 7 mainstream lessons

Total: 42 lessons

Total number of visits to school sites from 10/1/2011 to 31/5/2011: 40 visits

Fieldnotes

- Parallel lesson observations: 160 pages of single-spaced A4 paper
- Mainstream lesson observations: 30 pages
- General school observations: 35 pages

Total: 225 pages

Audio-recorded interviews with head-teachers and teachers

3 hours and 44 minutes

Audio-recorded discussion session with GAL students

15 minutes

Visual ethnographic material

1592 photographs of school records, teaching materials, schoolwork, homework and visual displays inside and outside classrooms

Appendix 3: Transcription Conventions

(.)	pause of up to a second
(number)	longer pause/the number shows the length in seconds
[[overlapping utterances
()	words that are unclear
...	the last letter of the word is prolonged
–	utterance that is interrupted
=	utterances without pause
* speech *	quieter words or utterances
<u>underlined</u>	word or utterance that is articulated with emphasis
<i>((italics))</i>	commentary
{ text }	required text for the speech to be meaningful
bold	indicates utterances in GCD

Appendix 4: MEC's official policy document for PIGLLC



ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

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ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ
ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ

28 Αυγούστου, 2008

ΕΠΕΙΓΟΥΣΑ

Διευθυντές/Διευθύντριες
Δημοτικών Σχολείων

Θέμα: Διαπολιτισμική Αγωγή και Εκπαίδευση

Αναφορικά με το πιο πάνω θέμα και σε συνέχεια της μέχρι σήμερα εφαρμοζόμενης πολιτικής θα ήθελα να σας πληροφορήσω ότι πρόσφατα το Υπουργικό Συμβούλιο έχει εγκρίνει το «*Κείμενο Πολιτικής του Υπουργείου Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού για τη Διαπολιτισμική Εκπαίδευση*». Για την προώθηση της ομαλής ένταξης των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών στα σχολεία, το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού υιοθετεί τη διαπολιτισμική προσέγγιση ως βασική διάσταση της εκπαιδευτικής του πολιτικής, επειδή τη θεωρεί ως την αποτελεσματικότερη εκπαιδευτική στρατηγική, που μπορεί να συμβάλει στην αλληλοαποδοχή, στην καλλιέργεια κλίματος εμπιστοσύνης και στην εξάλειψη αρνητικών στερεοτύπων και προκαταλήψεων μεταξύ των μαθητών. Η φιλοσοφία που θα διέπει την πολιτική ένταξης των μεταναστών στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα συμπυκνώνεται στους πιο κάτω στόχους της εκπαιδευτικής μεταρρύθμισης:

- Δημοκρατικό σχολείο που ενσωματώνει και δεν αποκλείει. Αυτό σημαίνει ισότητα ευκαιριών για πρόσβαση, για συμμετοχή, για επιτυχία και για εσωσχολική «μεταχείριση», αναγνωρίζοντας τη διαφορετικότητα και την πολυπολιτισμικότητα του μαθητικού πληθυσμού, καθώς και τις ατομικές ανάγκες.
- Σχολικό σύστημα/παιδεία που σέβεται τη διαφορετικότητα, τον πλουραλισμό (πολιτιστικό, γλωσσικό, θρησκευτικό) και την πολλαπλή νοημοσύνη (*multiple intelligence*).

2. Το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, με βάση και τις σχετικές εισηγήσεις της Έκθεσης Εκπαιδευτικής Μεταρρύθμισης και στα πλαίσια της δημιουργίας ενός δημοκρατικού σχολείου που ενσωματώνει και δεν αποκλείει, προωθεί την εισαγωγή των πιο κάτω μέτρων, με στόχο την επιτάχυνση και ομαλοποίηση της ένταξης των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών στο σχολικό σύστημα και την κοινωνία της Κύπρου:

1. Παράλληλα τμήματα ταχύρρυθμης εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Η εφαρμογή της παροχής ενισχυτικού χρόνου διδασκαλίας στη βάση των κριτηρίων που έχει αποφασίσει το Υπουργικό Συμβούλιο με σχετική απόφασή του, με αρ. 59.550 ημερ. 25 Φεβρουαρίου 2004, εξακολουθεί να ισχύει και για την παρούσα σχολική χρονιά (σχετική η εγκύκλιος με αρ. φακ. 7.1.19.1/10, 7.1.10.3/4, ημερ. 21 Ιανουαρίου 2008). Ταυτόχρονα, με την έναρξη της παρούσας σχολικής χρονιάς δίνεται η δυνατότητα στα σχολεία να εφαρμόσουν και το θεσμό της παράλληλης λειτουργίας τμημάτων ταχύρρυθμης εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Αυτό μπορεί να εφαρμοστεί σε εκείνα τα σχολεία που έχουν μεγάλο αριθμό αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών και παίρνουν ικανοποιητικό χρόνο ενισχυτικής διδασκαλίας.

— Στο Παράρτημα Α παρατίθεται αναλυτικός κατάλογος όλων των σχολείων ανά επαρχία τα οποία παρουσιάζουν αυξημένους αριθμούς αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών και που θα μπορούσαν να εφαρμόσουν τη λειτουργία των παράλληλων τμημάτων ταχύρρυθμης εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Για την εφαρμογή του ταχύρρυθμου προγράμματος διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής γλώσσας, θα τροποποιείται το Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών με λίγες ή καθόλου γνώσεις της ελληνικής γλώσσας, ώστε να τους παρέχεται η απαιτούμενη γλωσσική ενίσχυση σε δύο διαφορετικά επίπεδα, αρχάριων και μη αρχάριων. Για την αξιολόγηση του βαθμού κατοχής της ελληνικής και της ανάλογης κατανομής στα δύο επίπεδα μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν τα σχετικά εγχειρίδια που έχουν σταλεί στα σχολεία με τίτλο «Αρχική εκτίμηση του βαθμού κατοχής της ελληνικής γλώσσας». Οι αλλόγλωσσοι μαθητές μπορούν να αποσύρονται από ορισμένα μαθήματα, των οποίων η παρακολούθηση κρίνεται ως δύσκολη ή όχι και τόσο απαραίτητη, όπως για παράδειγμα τα Θρησκευτικά, η Ιστορία, ή μερικές περιόδους των βοηθητικών μαθημάτων. Ο ελάχιστος αριθμός περιόδων που μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για την ταχύρρυθμη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής είναι εννιά. Για τους αρχάριους η διάρκεια των ταχύρρυθμων μαθημάτων μπορεί να φθάσει τα δύο σχολικά έτη, ενώ για τους μη αρχάριους το ένα έτος. Η ανάγκη για προσφορά της ταχύρρυθμης διδασκαλίας για δεύτερη χρονιά θα πρέπει να διαπιστώνεται μετά από σχετική αξιολόγηση στο τέλος της σχολικής χρονιάς. Αναφορικά με τον αριθμό μαθητών κατά τμήμα ταχύρρυθμης εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας, το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού εισηγείται ως μέγιστο τον αριθμό οκτώ, αφού μεγαλύτερος αριθμός μαθητών θα δυσκόλευε το έργο και την αποτελεσματικότητα της ταχύρρυθμης διδασκαλίας. Για τη σύνθεση των ομάδων ταχύρρυθμης εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας θα ήταν εύκολο να συνυπάρχουν μαθητές προερχόμενοι, αν αυτό είναι δυνατό, από την ίδια τάξη, έτσι ώστε να υπάρχει ομοιογένεια και ευχέρεια στη διαμόρφωση του ωρολογίου προγράμματος. Εάν αυτό δεν είναι πρακτικά εφαρμόσιμο, θα μπορούσε να γίνει συνδυασμός με μαθητές από δύο ή περισσότερες τάξεις, με βασικό κριτήριο το επίπεδο γνώσης της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Παράλληλα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί μπορούν να χρησιμοποιούν στη διδασκαλία τους στα τμήματα ταχύρρυθμης εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας τις σειρές των σχολικών εγχειριδίων που έχουν σταλεί μέχρι σήμερα στις σχολικές μονάδες, καθώς και αυτά που θα σταλούν κατά τη διάρκεια της τρέχουσας σχολικής χρονιάς και τα οποία περιλαμβάνουν και καινούριες σειρές που έχουν εκδοθεί πρόσφατα και αναμένεται να αποσταλούν από την Ελλάδα.

II. Επιμόρφωση εκπαιδευτικών. Για να επιτευχθεί η αποτελεσματική εφαρμογή των προγραμμάτων εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας, αλλά και γενικότερα της πολιτικής για τη διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση, απαιτείται η σχετική επιμόρφωση των εκπαιδευτικών. Μέσα σε αυτό το πλαίσιο το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού πρόκειται να διευρύνει την εφαρμογή προγραμμάτων επιμόρφωσης σε θέματα διαπολιτισμικής εκπαίδευσης, διδασκαλίας σε τάξεις μαθητών με διαφορετική μητρική γλώσσα και πολιτισμική ταυτότητα και διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης ή/και ως ξένης γλώσσας. Σημειώνεται ότι προγραμματίζεται η διοργάνωση επιμορφωτικού προγράμματος αναφορικά με τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης ή/και ως ξένης γλώσσας κατά τη διάρκεια της σχολικής χρονιάς 2008-2009 ειδικά για τους εκπαιδευτικούς που θα αναλάβουν τη διδασκαλία στα προγράμματα εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας.

III. Υποδοχή νεοεισερχόμενων αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών – Οδηγός Υποδοχής. Πέρα από τα προγράμματα εκμάθησης της ελληνικής γλώσσας, το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού ετοιμάζει σχετικό Οδηγό Υποδοχής, με στόχο την ομαλοποίηση της υποδοχής των νεοεισερχόμενων αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών από τα σχολεία. Ο Οδηγός Υποδοχής θα διαγράφει με σαφήνεια τη διαδικασία υποδοχής και αρχικής ένταξης των νέων αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών από τις σχολικές μονάδες και θα περιλαμβάνει, επίσης, έντυπο με βασικές πληροφορίες για αλλόγλωσσους μαθητές και γονείς για το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα της Κύπρου, τις προοπτικές και επιλογές φοίτησης και τα δικαιώματα και υποχρεώσεις των μαθητών. Στόχος της εκπόνησης του Οδηγού Υποδοχής είναι η προσαρμογή και εξοικείωση των μαθητών με το νέο σχολικό και κοινωνικό περιβάλλον, όπως, επίσης, και η πληροφόρηση των μαθητών και των οικογενειών τους για τις υποχρεώσεις και τα δικαιώματα που έχουν. Το συγκεκριμένο έντυπο θα μεταφραστεί σε οκτώ ξένες γλώσσες, που έχουν επιλεγεί με βάση τους μεγαλύτερους αριθμούς κατά εθνότητα των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών, που φοιτούν στη Δημοτική και τη Μέση Εκπαίδευση. Οι γλώσσες στις οποίες θα εκδοθεί ο

Οδηγός είναι οι εξής: Αγγλική, Τουρκική, Ρωσική, Γεωργιανή, Βουλγαρική, Ρουμανική, Ουκρανική και Αραβική.

IV. Μελλοντικοί σχεδιασμοί. Η υλοποίηση των πιο πάνω προγραμμάτων κρίνεται επιβεβλημένη για την άμεση επίλυση των προβλημάτων που αντιμετωπίζουν σήμερα τα σχολεία με την εκπαίδευση των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών. Πέρα όμως από τα προτεινόμενα προγράμματα, το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού αναγνωρίζει ότι η διαμόρφωση μιας ολοκληρωμένης στρατηγικής για τη διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση καθιστά αναγκαία και τη λήψη επιπρόσθετων μέτρων, αφού η διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση δεν απευθύνεται μόνο στα αλλόγλωσσα παιδιά, αλλά και στα παιδιά της πλειοψηφίας. Σε αυτά τα πλαίσια θα ληφθούν τα ακόλουθα μέτρα:

- Η προσθήκη διαπολιτισμικών στοιχείων στα νέα αναλυτικά προγράμματα και σχολικά εγχειρίδια, που πρόκειται να δημιουργηθούν στα πλαίσια των αλλαγών στη δομή και το περιεχόμενο της εκπαίδευσης.
- Η παραγωγή και δημιουργία κατάλληλου εκπαιδευτικού και επιμορφωτικού υλικού, όπως και η αξιοποίηση διδακτικού υλικού που έχει παραχθεί στην Ελλάδα.

3. Για οποιοσδήποτε επιπρόσθετες πληροφορίες ή διευκρινίσεις μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον οικείο επιθεωρητή του σχολείου σας, τον Πρώτο Λειτουργό Εκπαίδευσης της επαρχίας σας, ή με τον αρμόδιο Λειτουργό του Γραφείου μου, Δρα Ανδρέα Τσιάκκιο, στο πιο πάνω τηλέφωνο.



(Αλ. Κουράτος)
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AT/AT DIAPOLITISMIKIAGOGI-ALLOGLOSSI

Appendix 5: Excerpt from the interview with Inner City head-teacher

- Ιωάννα:** Εγώ παρακολουθώ δύο ταχύρρυθμα τμήματα. Υπάρχουν τζιαι άλλα, κυρία ((όνομα));
- Διευθύντρια:** Ναι, ναι, ναι. ((Μου δίνει το εβδομαδιαίο πρόγραμμα για τα ταχύρρυθμα τμήματα.)) Έχουμεν έξι περιόδους τζι εν για τα μωρά τα εγκριμένα τούτα. Τωρά εντάξαμε τζιαι ανεπίσημα νομίζω ένα-θκιο μωρά που δεν ήταν στον κατάλογο πέρσι, αλλά εθεωρήσαμεν ότι... Μπορεί να ήρταν στο μέσο του χρόνου τζι εν εμπήκαν στον κατάλογο από την αρχή.
- Ιωάννα:** Άρα έχετε συνολικά έξι ώρες.
- Διευθύντρια:** Ναι, για τον πληθυσμό δεκαεφτά παιδιών.
- Ιωάννα:** Τζιαι εχωρίσετε τις-
- Διευθύντρια:** Είναι εδώ. ((Μου δείχνει το πρόγραμμα.)) Έξι δάσκαλοι έχουν αναλάβει. Το λοιπόν, έχουμε χωρίσει και τα παιδιά. Άλλοι {δάσκαλοι} έχουν τρεις, άλλοι δύο, άλλοι αναλόγως. Διότι επροτιμήσαμεν να κάμνει την ε... τα αλλόγλωσσα ο δάσκαλος της τάξης. Ό...σα- ό...σα παι...- όσα αλλόγλωσσα είχεν ο δάσκαλος της τάξης τους ε ώρα..., τους έκαμνεν ο δάσκαλος της τάξης τους. Τώρα τρία τμήματα που δεν είχεν ο δάσκαλος της τάξης τους, επήγαν στο αδελφό τμήμα. Κάμνει και στες δύο τετάρτες η ((όνομα)) {κυρία Α}. Σα στην έχτη έχουμε δύο δασκάλους. Το τμήμα το Στ 3 που δεν ε... ή μάλλον εν έχουμε δύο δασκάλους. Μόνο η ((όνομα)) {κυρία Β} εν της έκτης τάξης. Οι άλλοι κάμνουν στην ((όνομα)) οι δύο που έχουμε. Και οι πέμπτες το ίδιο. Έχουμε τρεις {κανονικές} δασκάλες στες πέμπτες. Η μια η πέμπτη που δεν έχει {ώρα για} αλλόγλωσσα η δασκάλα, στέλλει τα σε αδελφό τμήμα.
- Ιωάννα:** Άρα χωρίστηκαν έτσι ώστε η δασκάλα της τάξης να ενισχύει τους μαθητές της.
- Διευθύντρια:** Δεν εδώσαμε ξεχωριστό πρόγραμμα... σε ανεξάρτητο {δάσκαλο} όλες τις ώρες
- Ιωάννα:** Δημιουργήθηκαν τμήματα αρχαρίων και μη αρχαρίων, όπως λέει η πολιτική;
- Διευθύντρια:** Τούτον έχει το ο δάσκαλος. Σαν ας πούμε η ((όνομα)) {κυρία Α} εν ηξέρω πώς εδούλεψεν ακριβώς αλλά αναλόγως με το... Διότι ο δάσκαλος της τάξης μπορεί να κάμει =επειδή ξέρει τα μωρά πάρα πολλά καλά, μπορεί αμέσως να κάμνει διαφοροποίηση της εργασίας. Μπορεί να μην είναι διαφοροποίηση τμημάτων, αρχάριος μη αρχάριος, αλλά διαφοροποίηση της εργασίας. Κάμνει το ο ίδιος ο δάσκαλος. Το άλλο δεν το δοκιμάσαμεν. Να είναι ένας δάσκαλος για όλους δηλαδή. Πότε θα προλάβει να τους μάθει; Εν ηξέρει τις αδυναμίες τους. Βλέπω ότι τούτον το σύστημα εν πιο λειτουργικό, διότι ο δάσκαλος ξέρει αμέσως ε... τις ανάγκες της τάξης. Τζιαι ξέρει τζιαι πάρα πολλά καλά τον μαθητή που έχει μπροστά του. Ενώ ο δάσκαλος που θα τον πιάσει μια φορά την εβδομάδα, μπορεί να περάσει τζιαι όλος ο χρόνος τζιαι να μεν έχει μια συνολικήν εικόνα του παιδιού ας πούμεν.
- Ιωάννα:** Πώς έγινε η επιλογή των δασκάλων;
- Διευθύντρια:** Επιλέχθηκαν ώστε να έχει από όλες τις τάξεις. Και τετάρτη και πέμπτη και έχτη. Τζιαι μετά επειδή όλοι οι δάσκαλοι ήταν ικανοί ας πούμεν. Εν είχεν κανένα

που να έχει ειδικότητα σε τούντο θέμα ή να είναι το μάστερ του ή ξέρω 'γω. Ε... αναλόγως με τις ώρες μετά τζιαι το πρόγραμμα που εβόλευε. Ε... ίσως είδαμε τζιαι το... ποια τάξη έχει πολλά μωρά αλλόγλωσσα. Στην τάξη που έχει μωρά αλλόγλωσσα, εδώσαμε τις ώρες στη δασκάλα. Στην τάξη που εν έχει, δεν εδώσαμε στον δάσκαλο. Δηλαδή κριτήριο ήταν ε... να έχει απ' όλες τις τάξεις δασκάλους, τετάρτη, πέμπτη, έκτη. Τζιαι τα τμήματα που είχαν αλλόγλωσσα μωρά, να πάρουν οι δάσκαλοι της τάξης που είχαν τα πιο πολλά, να πάρουν οι δάσκαλοι της τάξης.

- Ιωάννα:** Έδειξαν ενδιαφέρον οι εκπαιδευτικοί; Ήθελαν να αναλάβουν;
- Διευθύντρια:** Ναι, δεν είχε κανέναν ένσταση. Ναι.
- Ιωάννα:** Γιατί;
- Διευθύντρια:** Λόγω του ότι είναι μωρά της τάξης τους, ήθελαν να έχουν την ευχέρεια να βοηθήσουν ας πούμεν.
- Ιωάννα:** Τα μαθήματα που γίνονται στις κανονικές τάξεις σας περιορίσαν στο πότε να βάλετε τούτες τις ώρες, πότε να βάλετε τούτα τα ταχύρρυθμα μαθήματα;
- Διευθύντρια:** Ε... εφόσον είναι όλοι δάσκαλοι της τάξης που ανάλαβαν τα αλλόγλωσσα, εμπήκεν με βάση το... το... πρόγραμμα των δασκάλων.
- Ιωάννα:** Αφήσετε το ρευστό ή εκαθορίσετε ποια θα είναι η μέρα και η ώρα που θα κάνει τούτο το μάθημα ο δάσκαλος;
- Διευθύντρια:** Ε... ανάμεσα στα κενά του δασκάλου πού εμπορούσαν να μπει η ώρα, εμπήκε σε μιαν ώρα που να μην εμποδίζει κάτι άλλο.
- Ιωάννα:** Να μην εμποδίζει τον δάσκαλο;
- Διευθύντρια:** Και τον δάσκαλο και τον μαθητή. Ας πούμεν, μπορούσε να πει να μη χάνει κάθε φορά ξέρω 'γω ε... ένα βασικό μάθημα ή ένα μάθημα που γίνεται μια φορά την εβδομάδα. Τούτον είδεν το ο δάσκαλος. Εν ορίσαμεν ε... για όλους μιαν πολιτική ενιαία. Δεν είπαμεν ας πούμεν ότι δεν πρέπει να χάνεται το τάδε μάθημα σε καμιάν περίπτωση. Γιατί το ένα μάθημα ή το άλλο; Αφήσαμεν το στον δάσκαλο τούτο. Ε... ίσως να έχει τζιαι δασκάλους που αλλάζουν την ώρα. Δηλαδή να μπήκεν επίσημα μια ώρα, αλλά... κάποιες φορές να το κάμνουν την τρίτη ώρα, κάποιες φορές να το κάμνουν την πέμπτη για να μη χάνει ακριβώς το ίδιο μάθημα το παιδί που φεύγει από την τάξη. Τούτο γίνεται ανεπίσημα.
- Ιωάννα:** Μέχρι το τέλος της σχολικής χρονιάς τι θέλετε να πετύχουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί σας με τούτα τα μαθήματα;
- Διευθύντρια:** Να πετύχουν την ατομική πρόοδο του κάθε παιδιού ξεχωριστά. Δηλαδή το κάθε παδί ε... άρχισε αυτά τα μαθήματα και ήταν σε κάποιο συγκεκριμένο επίπεδο. Ο στόχος του σχολείου είναι να εκάμαν όλα τα παιδιά βήματα πρόδου. Τζιαι ε... θα ζητήσω από τους δασκάλους έτσι μιαν α... αξιολόγηση της αρχικής κατάστασης και της τελικής και σε ποια σημεία ε... έχουν προοδεύσει.
- Ιωάννα:** Τούτα τα μαθήματα γίνονται μια φορά τη βδομάδα για κάθε τμήμα. Υπάρχει βοήθεια τις υπόλοιπες ώρες για τούτα τα παιδιά από τον ίδιο εκπαιδευτικό ή από άλλους;

- Διευθύντρια:** Από τους δασκάλους της τάξης. Ή οι επισκέπτες δασκάλες ίσως να διαφοροποιούν την εργασία τους ας πούμεν.
- Ιωάννα:** Εσείς πιστεύετε ότι κερδίζουν ή ότι χάνουν οι μαθητές με το να τους βγάζουμεν από την κανονική τάξη τζιαι να τους κάμνουμεν, να τους βάλλουμεν μες τούτα τα ταχύρρυθμα τμήματα;
- Διευθύντρια:** Εγώ πιστεύω ότι βοηθούνται ε... διότι τα πλείστα παιδιά... όι τα πλείστα... τα παιδιά που έχουν να να... να αντιμετωπίσουν ένα νέο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα τζιαι μια νέα γλώσσα μαθαίνουν πιο πολύ με την ατομική βοήθεια παρά με την... Στο σύνολο χάνονται. Ενώ ε... έχουν πιο καλά αποτελέσματα, όπως και οι αδύνατοι μαθητές, με την ατομική βοήθεια. Τούτον το έχουν δείξει έρευνες. Ε... έχει αποδειχτεί. Ε... τζιαι πιστεύω ότι εν πολλά πιο καλό παρά καθόλου. Θα μπορούσε να ήταν τζιαι πιο ενισχυμένο ας πούμε τζιαι πιο... Θεωρώ ότι έχει καλά αποτελέσματα, δεδομένου του ότι έξι ώρες μας δίνουν. Τζιαι οι συνθήκες που γίνονται, το ότι ας πούμεν δεν έχουμεν ούτε τάξη ειδική για τα αλλόγλωσσα, χώρο. Ο ένας δάσκαλος κάμνει στην μια τάξη, ο άλλος στην άλλη.

Appendix 6: First stage of Mrs A's grammar lesson - Communicative language activity

- Κυρία Α:** ε... πριν να ξεκινήσουμε (.) πώς **επεράσατε τες** διακοπές σας; (.)
 πες μου Σαμίρα
- Σαμίρα:** χάλια
- Κυρία Α:** γιατί;
- Σαμίρα:** πρώτα έπιασε φωτιά το αυτοκίνητο της μάμα [μου... (.)
 [oh my god
- Αντρέι:**
- Σαμίρα:** και μετά τίποτε **εν ε[κάμαμε** (.)
 [((επιφώνημα έκπληξης))
- Αντρέι:** ήρθα στο δωμάτιό μου [(.) στο σπίτι [(.) ()]-
 [oh no (.) [not good
- Κυρία Α:** πώς έπιασε φωτιά το αυτοκίνητο της μάμας;
- Σαμίρα:** **εν ηξέρω** (.) ήταν στη δουλειά **τζι έπιασε**
- Λάζαρος:** τούτη ήξερε κυρία αλλά... (2) **εν** το είπε στη μάμα της
- Σαμίρα:** τι ήξερα;
- Λάζαρος:** ήξερες ότι ήταν χαλασμένο το αυτοκίνητο
 [ναι
- Αντρέι:**
- Σαμίρα:** **όι** (.) **τζείνος που** (.) από **τζείνον που** αγόρασε ήξερα ότι ήταν χαλασμένο
τζι έδωκέν το στη μάμα μου
- Κυρία Α:** μ...
- Σαμίρα:** αλλά... **εν** της το είπα (.) **τζι αγόρασεν το**
 ήταν διακόσιες χιλιάδες ευρώ
- Αντρέι:** μόνο;
- Κυρία Α:** [**όι** διακόσιες χιλιάδες
- Σαμίρα:** [αλλά **ένεν**
- Αντρέι:** [()
- Σαμίρα:** **κυρία θέλει τζιαι πουπάνω τα λεφτά του**
- Κυρία Α:** μ (.) και μετά τι **εκάματε;** (.) μείνατε σπίτι όλη μέρα;
- Σαμίρα:** ναι
- Κυρία Α:** [γιατί; Και οι τρεις σας;
- Αντρέι:** [()
- Σαμίρα:** και οι τέσσερις μας
- Κυρία Α:** **τζι** οι τέσσερις
- Σαμίρα:** η μάμα μου έχασε τη δουλειά της
- Αντρέι:** ((επιφώνημα έκπληξης))
- Κυρία Α:** δεν πειράζει (.) [θα βρει άλλη
- Λάζαρος:** [**τζι** εμένα κυρία
- Κυρία Α:** ναι; (.) θα τη βοηθήσεις;
- Λάζαρος:** **τζι** εμένα
- Κυρία Α:** Λάζαρε
- Λάζαρος:** **τζι** εμένα έχασε δουλειά η μάμα μου... αλλά (.)
- Κυρία Α:** **εν** πειράζει
- Λάζαρος:** αλλά εγώ θέλω να πω (.)
 το Πάσχα **ήρταν** τα ξαδέρφια μου
=επαίξαμε-
- Κυρία Α:** ποια ξαδέρφια σου; (.) πιο μεγάλα;
- Λάζαρος:** ε... σαν εμένα (.)
 ε... **ήρταν** (.) **επήαμε εκάναμε λίκον** (.) ένα δεντρόσπιτο
- Κυρία Α:** δεντρόσπιτο (.) πού το **εκάματε** το δεντρόσπιτο;
- Λάζαρος:** ε... **τζει** πάνω στην πολυκατοικία μου **έσιει** ()
- Κυρία:** μ...
- Λάζαρος:** ε... κι ύστερα (2) κι ύστερα **πήαμε** πάρκο
- Κυρία Α:** στο πάρκο εδώ στην ((όνομα));
- Λάζαρος:** **όι** κυρία ((όνομα))

Κυρία Α: α... του ((όνομα))
Λάζαρος: και μετά **πήαμε** στο χωράφι της θείας μου (.) **τζι** ύστερα-
τζι ύστερα **επήαμε** σε γενέθλια
Αντρέι: σειρά μου κυρία
Κυρία Α: **κάματε** και **λαμπρατζιά;**
[ναι; βοήθησες τον ((όνομα)) να μαζέψει ξύλα; ναι;
Αντρέι: [εγώ δεν **έκαμα**
Λάζαρος: [ναι (.) **τζιαι** μετά **ήρταμε** σπίτι **τζι** **εφάμε**
Αντρέι: [σειρά μου κυρία
Κυρία Α: μάλι[στα
Σαμίρα: [κυρία γίνεται να πω κάτι;
Κυρία Α: **άτε** σύντομα γιατί θέλει να μιλήσει και ο Αντρέι
Σαμίρα: ε... χτες (.) η μάμα μου έκλαιγε (.) **τζι** εγώ... βασικά
(.)
επειδή ε... ήθελε τη μάμα της **τζιαι** τον παπά της
Κυρία Α: **εν** της είπες **εν** πειράζει σε έχει εσένα;
Σαμίρα: **όι** κυρία **έκλαια** **τζι** εγώ μαζί της
Κυρία Α: **εν** την αγγαλίαςες να της πεις **μεν** κλαίεις είμαι εδώ; (2)
έτσι [να της πεις
Σαμίρα: [**έκλαια** [**τζι** εγώ μαζί της επειδή **επεθύμησα** **τζι** εγώ
τη γιαγιά μου
Κυρία Α: [ξέρεις ότι την-
την Κυριακή είναι η γιορτή της μητέρας
Σαμίρα: **ξέρω το**
Κυρία Α: ε **κάμε** της μίαν μεγάλη κάρτα γράψε της μέσα ότι την
αγαπάς να της την δώσεις (.)
να νιώσει καλύτερα (.) μ; (.) το καλύτερο δώρο (.)
και να τη βοηθάς (.) **βοηθάς την;**
Σαμίρα: ναι
Κυρία Α: ναι;
Σαμίρα: μόνο οι αδερφές μου **εν** την βοηθά (.)
η άλλη **εν** στο internet **τζιαι** στο facebook-
Κυρία Α: η Σαμίρα **εν** βοηθά τη μάμα σου; (.) **εν** το πιστεύω
Σαμίρα: εγώ; (.) τη βοηθά (.)
αλλά εκείνη (.) από τότε που της αγόρασε το laptop (.)
εν **μες** το internet **τζιαι** στο facebook (2) **τζιαι** **κοφτει**
την-
Κυρία Α: α... μάλιστα (.) **άτε** Αντρέι πες μας και εσύ αφού θέλεις
τόσο πολύ
Αντρέι: κυρία στην Πάσχα (.) εγώ (.) ήρθε ο Γκάμπριελ
Κυρία Α: μ...
Αντρέι: κοντά το σπίτι μου
Κυρία Α: ναι
Αντρέι: **επαίξαμε** πήγαμε στον πάρκο (.)
ο... σπίτι μου (.) ε... ένα λεπτά θα πάω στο πάρκο (.)
τζιαι-
Κυρία Α: ποιο πάρκο;
Αντρέι: ε... ε... ξέχασα τ' όνομα του (2)
ε... **επαίξαμε** [()
Λάζαρος: [((όνομα)) πάρκο;
Αντρέι: τι;
Λάζαρος: πάρκο ((όνομα));
Κυρία Α: **εν** πειράζει Λάζαρέ μου (.) δεν έχει σημασία
Αντρέι: τούτον το πάρκο είδες-
Σαμίρα: της ((όνομα)) [που **έσιει** μπροστά του έναν περίπτερο;
Αντρέι: [όι (.) όι
Κυρία Α: **ντάξει** (.) **εν** **έσιει** σημασία (.) **άστον** να μας πει τι **έκαμε**
εν πειράζει σε ποιον πάρκο [**επήεν**
Αντρέι: [ε... **τζιαι** (.) μετά (.) ήρθε
ο (.) ξάδερφο μου (.) **επαίξαμε** μετά
Κυρία: ο ξάδερφος σου μένει Κύπρο;

Αντρέι: ναι (2) μετά (.) έφυγε (.) άλλο τι **έκαμα;** (.) **εξέχασα** κυρία

Κυρία Α: **εξεκουραστήκατε** δηλαδή;

Αντρέι: [όι

Σαμίρα: [ναι

Λάζαρος: ναι κυρία και το-

Αντρέι: εγώ πάρα πολύ κυρία

Κυρία Α: ξεκουράστηκες πολύ;

Αντρέι: [() -

Λάζαρος: [έβαλαν κροτίδα μέσα στην μπουκάλα **τζιαι** την έβαλαν κάτω **που** την πόρτα του

Αντρέι: ναι

Κυρία Α: μα ποιος; =εσύ;

Αντρέι: **όι** (.) μια μέρα κυρία (.) έβαλαν ένα μπουκάλα μέσα στην μπουκάλα (.) ένα μπουκάλι βόμβα μικρό (.) και χτύπησαν το πόρτα (.) και 'γω άνοιξα το πόρτα και πουφ

Κυρία Α: ποιος το έκαμε τούτο;

Αντρέι: **ξέρω 'γω;**

Κυρία Α: τέλος παντων (.) **εν** πειράζει (.) ξεκουραστήκατε **τωρά** (.) ήρθατε πίσω σχολείο

Αντρέι: ναι κυρία εγώ πάρα [πολύ

Σαμίρα: [κυρία εγώ ήθελα να **έρτω** συνέχεια σχολείο (.)

Κυρία Α: έλεγα [πότε να γυρίσω

Σαμίρα: [επειδή **εβαρέθηκες** σπίτι;

Κυρία Α: ναι κυρία **εκαθόμουννα εθορούσα** τηλεόραση-

Κυρία Α: α δηλαδή **τωρά** πρέπει να έχεις πολλή όρεξη να **κάμεις** μάθημα

Σαμίρα: ναι

Κυρία Α: ναι; (.) **όι** μονο για το διάλειμμα

Αντρέι: κυρία εγώ-

Κυρία Α: εσύ;

Αντρέι: εγώ **έκαμνα** πολύ μάθημα γιατί **εν ήξερα** ελληνικά

Κυρία Α: ναι

Αντρέι: **έκαμνα** μάθημα για να περάσουμε

Κυρία Α: το Πάσχα έκανες μάθημα;

Αντρέι: ναι

Κυρία Α: ναι; (.) με ποιον;

Αντρέι: μόνος μου κυρία

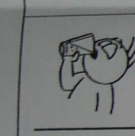
Κυρία Α: μόνος σου (.) μπράβο βρε Αντρέι (.) ε Λάζαρε εσύ;

Λάζαρος: ε κι εγω ήθελα να **'ρτω** σχολείο

Κυρία Α: ήθελα **εν** ήθελα (.) **ήρτα** (.)

ντάξει (.) θέλω να ανοίξετε το τετράδιό σας

Appendix 7: Examples of Lazaros's schoolwork

Ρήματα		
	<p>..... εγώ χορεύω</p> <p>..... εσύ χορεύεις</p> <p>..... αυτός χορεύει</p>	<p>..... εμείς χορεύουμε</p> <p>..... εσείς χορεύετε</p> <p>..... αυτοί χορεύουν</p>
	<p>..... εγώ διαβάζω</p> <p>..... εσύ διαβάζεις</p> <p>..... αυτός διαβάζει</p>	<p>..... εμείς διαβάζουμε</p> <p>..... εσείς διαβάσετε</p> <p>..... αυτοί διαβάζουν</p>
	<p>..... εγώ καθαρίζω</p> <p>..... εσύ καθαρίζεις</p> <p>..... αυτός καθαρίζει</p>	<p>..... εμείς καθαρίζουμε</p> <p>..... εσείς καθαρίζετε</p> <p>..... αυτοί καθαρίζουν</p>
	<p>..... εγώ τρέχω</p> <p>..... εσύ τρέχεις</p> <p>..... αυτός τρέχει</p>	<p>..... εμείς τρέχουμε</p> <p>..... εσείς τρέχετε εσείς</p> <p>..... αυτοί τρέχουν αυτοί</p>
	<p>..... εγώ πίνω</p> <p>..... εσύ πίνεις</p> <p>..... αυτός πίνει</p>	<p>..... αυτός πίνει</p> <p>..... εσείς πίνετε</p> <p>..... εμείς πίνουμε</p>
	<p>..... έχω πτυχίο</p> <p>..... εσύ πτυχιάταις</p> <p>..... αυτός πτυχιάται</p>	<p>..... αυτός πτυχιάται</p> <p>..... εσείς πτυχιάτατε</p> <p>..... εμείς πτυχιάταμε</p>
	<p>..... εγώ σταματώ</p> <p>..... εσύ σταματάς</p> <p>..... αυτός σταματάει</p>	<p>..... εσείς σταματάτε</p> <p>..... αυτός σταματάει</p> <p>..... αυτός σταματάει</p>
	<p>..... έχω φωνάτω</p> <p>..... εσύ φωνάτεις</p> <p>..... αυτός φωνάτσει</p>	<p>..... εμείς φωνάτουμε</p> <p>..... εσείς φωνάτε</p> <p>..... αυτοί φωνάτουν</p>

Μου αρέσει πολύ το σάντουιτς 15.3.2017
Δίν μου αρέσει πολύ το ρότυ
Δίν μα αρέσει καθεσόν το μαρτσόλο

12/11

15.3.2011 - Στάρι σου αρέσει το παγωτό, ΕΤ
- Έτσι και έτσι



- Ξου αρέσουν οι διακοπές,
- Ναι, μου αρέσει πολύ

- Ξου αρέσουν οι σκύλοι,
- Ναι, πάρα πολύ

Ανταπό.

12/11/11

Το Σάβατο θα παίξω με τους φίλους μου
και θα γράψω χαμπουρκες.

Υπαία.



Appendix 8: Excerpt from fieldnotes – Incident with Samira crying outside of her mainstream class

Τρίτη, 15 Μαρτίου 2011, 7:45 π.μ.

Φτάνω στο σχολείο λίγο πριν το χτύπημα του κουδουνιού και πηγαίνω στην αίθουσα δασκάλων. Εκεί συναντώ την κυρία Α. Την καλημερίζω και μαζί ξεκινάμε να περπατάμε προς την τάξη.

Έξω από τη Δ'1 τάξη συναντάμε τη Σαμίρα να κλαίει. Η κυρία Α της ζητά να περπατήσει μαζί μας προς την τάξη όπου θα γίνει το μάθημα. Καταφθάνουν και ο Λάζαρος και ο Αντρέι. Μπαίνω μαζί τους στην τάξη, ενώ η κυρία Α μένει με τη Σαμίρα έξω από την αίθουσα.

Τα αγόρια κάθονται στα θρανία αλλά το μάθημα καθυστερεί να αρχίσει γιατί η Σαμίρα εξακολουθεί να κλαίει έξω από την τάξη, ενώ η κυρία Α προσπαθεί να την ηρεμήσει. Καλημερίζω τους δύο μαθητές και τους ρωτώ αν είναι καλά.

Μετά από μερικά λεπτά η Σαμίρα και η κυρία Α μπαίνουν στην αίθουσα. Η κυρία Α με πλησιάζει και μου λέει με σιγανή φωνή ότι η Σαμίρα τσακώθηκε με μια συμμαθήτριά της. Τα άλλα κορίτσια της τάξης δεν την υποστήριξαν και έτσι πληγώθηκε.

Η δασκάλα και η μαθήτριά κάθονται. Η δασκάλα ρωτά τα παιδιά αν έχουν μαζί τους τα φυλλάδια που τους έδωσε την προηγούμενη βδομάδα. Τα δύο αγόρια δεν τα έχουν και τους στέλνει πίσω στην κανονική τους τάξη, για να τα πάρουν. Ρωτάω τη Σαμίρα αν νιώθει καλύτερα και μου λέει ότι καμία από τις συμμαθήτρίες της δε θέλει να παίξει μαζί της και να είναι φίλη της. Επιστρέφουν στην τάξη τα αγόρια και το μάθημα αρχίζει.

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